NO FAULT DIVORCE **ROSE DeWOLF**

THE NATION

APRIL 23, 1973 *50 cents*

The Sherrod Library
Periodicals Dept.
E. Tennessee St. Univ.
Johnson City, Tn. 37601
8-12 8-74
AG
APR 23 '73

MARK SELDEN
Dollars & Dependence

BLUEPRINT FOR SOUTHEAST ASIA

Boston's Alternative Newspapers ***Dennis Hale***
What a Way to Carry the Mail! ***James Rademacher***

Lilienfeld / Reflections on Karl Kraus

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

an answer to Peter Sourian

New York City

DEAR SIRS: Mr. Sourian is a teacher of remedial English in the evening session at the City College, a post that may well disappear if the necessary changes are made in the Open Admissions Program. In view of that fact his rage is fully comprehensible at the current reassessment of Open Admissions in the light of the promises made by its advocates, and the cold hard facts which are so different and which were recently described very briefly in an article by Martin Mayer. Aside from the *ad hominem* arguments that detract even further from the case that Mr. Sourian tries to make ["Open Admissions: A Pilgrim's Progress," *The Nation,* Feb. 12] in support of the current program, he has said little that bears examination, but he reveals a shocking unawareness of the real facts about the introduction of Open Admissions and SEEK. His attacks upon Professor Heller [see Letters, *The Nation,* Apr. 2] and myself are simply beneath contempt, and those whom he supposedly quotes, Dean Chavarria-Aguilar, Dean Baskerville and Vice Chancellor Healy, have denied making those statements. Either Mr. Sourian or these men are not telling the truth. I shall not dignify Mr. Sourian's remarks on that score by an answer which would grant them any degree of credence. Professor Heller's recent highly merited promotion with two years of retroactive credit to the rank of full professor is full vindication of his worthiness in all regards, since it was achieved only after the defeat of the vicious opposition of Dean Chavarria-Aguilar, who did everything possible to deny Professor Heller that promotion. The two-year struggle to vindicate Professor Heller mirrors the kind of intense pressure from the administration to which those of us who predicted accurately the course of Open Admissions have been subjected. That pressure from the administration has been described in a recent article by Martin Mayer in *Commentary.* Had I not been promoted several years ago, I presume that I should have encountered precisely the same political opposition in attaining the rank of full professor. As it is, I was promoted ahead of many of my colleagues with longer service during the tenure of President Gallagher. Accusations by Mr. Sourian of racial prejudice, which are denied by the man he supposedly quotes, are similarly beneath contempt. Professor Heller has consistently worked on behalf of his students without regard to race, and has certainly more claim to be recognized as a champion for equality among men by reason of his actions than do those who vociferously mouth such claims for themselves. As for myself, I should merely point out that I was a faculty adviser for the NAACP chapter at the Baruch School in the 1950s, long before it was fashionable to proclaim one's devotion to equality, but when it was vital to do things for students. I would also point out that I brought black students into the graduate program in history at the doctoral level, and that I have worked extremely hard and successfully to get them jobs. I must, however, insist that, unlike the person that Mr. Sourian would like me to be, I never did it because they were black but rather simply because they were good students and deserved these efforts on their behalf. I confess that I have done as much for white and Oriental students. I do not think of students in terms of race but simply as students. Mr. Sourian's remarks, derived from some mythical undergraduate student at the City College, must be presumed to fall into the same category. I have never had an undergraduate student who was an Orthodox Jewess and the wife of a professor, so I must presume that once again Mr. Sourian is either composing his quotations or citing someone totally unfamiliar with my teaching at the City College. Much to my regret I cannot put myself into that class of Jewish scholars who broke the supposed barriers to higher education in the 1930s against overwhelming odds. The fact of the matter

(Continued on page 523)

EDITORIALS

Contempt of Congress

In a general if not technical sense the Nixon Administration is guilty of contempt of Congress. Atty. Gen. Richard G. Kleindienst is a legal lightweight whose views on constitutional issues merit little attention, but in his recent appearance before a Senate subcommittee investigating executive privilege, he was a spokesman for the Administration. In his view, none of the 2.5 million employees of the executive branch may testify before a Congressional committee if the President forbids it. Senator Muskie calls this "a frightening concept"; what makes it really frightening is that it was designed to bait the Senate, to dare it to take counter action.

Almost flippantly, the Attorney General said that if Congress does not like what the President does, it could shut off all funds or impeach him or—a nice dig—let the issue be resolved by a Presidential election. In view of such provocation and what Senator Muskie calls "the quantum jump that executive privilege has taken in this Administration," Congress should not hesitate to act. Without going as far as impeachment or the cutting off of funds, it can, if it will, challenge the sweeping extension of executive privilege. As Senator Fulbright told his colleagues, the Administration obviously regards members of Congress as "a bunch of boobs" and if they do not act they will "deserve the contempt that the White House obviously has for them."

Nor is it only Democrats who are disturbed by the Kleindienst statement. It so distressed Rep. John B. Anderson of Illinois, chairman of the House Republican Conference, that next day he expressed to the Senate subcommittee "in the strongest terms possible" his "utter shock and dismay" at the statement, which he said was "unnecessarily provocative and contemptuous of Congress." The Attorney General, he added, "has thrown down the gauntlet. If this Congress is to preserve even a semblance of integrity and independence, it must act immediately to nullify the sweeping claim of executive power. . . ." But even as Mr. Anderson testified, Ronald Ziegler was defending the Kleindienst statement to newsmen and, in Detroit, the Attorney General was assuring members of the Federal Bar Association that the President has invoked the claim of executive privilege only four times. What he did not add was that Administration officials have invoked it fifteen times. The fact is that Mr. Nixon has wielded the claim of privilege as a personal weapon at a rate far exceeding that of his predecessors (see *Congressional Record,* March 28, p. H-2242).

Trouble Ahead

On still another front, the President is at no pains to conceal his contempt of Congress. In a televised address of June 9, 1970, he said that the only remaining military activity in Cambodia after July 1 of that year would consist of air missions to interdict the movement of troops and materiel "where I find that is necessary to protect the lives and security of our men in South

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vietnam." Now that all combat troops have been withdrawn from Vietnam, he can hardly fall back on his powers as Commander in Chief to justify the bombing in Cambodia. Yet for a month or more American fighter bombers and B-52s have flown as many as fifty to 100 sorties daily—with, it might be added, slight apparent effect. The rationale is that we are bombing to force the warring factions to accept a cease-fire. But what constitutional authority exists for such action? Cambodia is not a party to SEATO, and the Gulf of Tonkin resolution has been repealed. Some legal wizards at the Library of Congress have come forward with the notion that a war once started goes on forever, unless Congress or the President declares that it has ended. The Secretary of Defense, with a hesitancy that betrays some intellectual embarrassment, suggests that the President is acting on the basis of undefined "residual" powers.

Meanwhile, the situation in Cambodia rapidly deteriorates. Phnom Penh is under siege; all four main highways leading to the city have been severed. Only five of eighteen vessels rushing supplies to the besieged city managed to get through; the others were forced to turn back. Now an airlift will be tried. General Haig has conducted a hasty survey and reported back to the Commander in Chief, who is no doubt in one of his ugly, unpredictable moods. Any hope that intensive American bombing might force the insurgents to accept a cease-fire should by now be dissipated; their offensive has gained ground since the cease-fire was signed on January 27 and they can probably take Phnom Penh whenever they wish.

Nor is the President's mood brightened, one may assume, by the nonpolicing of the non-truce in Vietnam. Three times in the last four weeks the President has warned the North Vietnamese to expect "appropriately vigorous responses," and on the basis of his past behavior it would not be surprising if he confronted us with another of his "unpredictable" initiatives. If Congress fails to curb his war-waging powers, and soon, he may resume full-scale bombing in Vietnam and then it will be still more difficult to curb his rage.

The Years of the Caper

As a beginning, consider these facts: $2 billion in life insurance that doesn't exist . . . 56,000 bogus policies . . . $10.5 million of the $14.5 million in premiums that were reported in 1972 "manufactured and nonexistent" . . . a safety deposit box said to contain $25 million in negotiable bonds which, when drilled open by insurance investigators, is found to be empty.

Only the surface has been scratched, but this much is known already about Equity Funding Corporation's key subsidiary, Equity Funding Life. Slight wonder that Illinois insurance director Fred A. Mauck calls it "one of the ripest insurance scandals anybody anywhere has ever seen." It is all of that in sober reality, yet if some fiction writer had based a novel about the insurance industry on such incidents, he would have been spurned as fanciful. Until now, at least.

Equity Funding was one of the bright stars of Wall Street. It did well by investors (or speculators) who bought it for capital growth. From a low of $7.50 a

IN THIS ISSUE

April 23, 1973

EDITORIALS

514

ARTICLES

518 What a Way to Carry the Mail! *James H. Rademacher*

520 Dollars & Dependence: Blueprint for Southeast Asia *Mark Selden*

527 No Fault Divorce: Myths of American Marriage *Rose DeWolf*

529 Boston's New Journalism: Prospects for the Alternative Press *Dennis Hale*

BOOKS & THE ARTS

534 Reflections on Karl Kraus *Robert Lilienfeld*

537 Hill: The World Turned Upside Down *Charles Bazerman*

538 Alves: A Grain of Mustard Seed *E. Bradford Burns*

538 Hendin: Death as a Fact of Life
Curtin: Nobody Ever Died of Old Age *Leonard C. Lewin*

540 Films *Robert Hatch*

541 Theatre *Harold Clurman*

542 Twin (poem) *Stephen Stepanchev*

Publisher
JAMES J. STORROW Jr.

Editor
CAREY McWILLIAMS

Associate Publisher
LINDA EDER STORROW

Executive Editor
ROBERT HATCH

Literary Editor
EMILE CAPOUYA

Western Representative
GIFFORD PHILLIPS

Copy Editor, MARION HESS; Poetry Editor, GRACE SCHULMAN; Theatre, HAROLD CLURMAN; Art, LAWRENCE ALLOWAY; Music, DAVID HAMILTON; Science, CARL DREHER; Advertising Manager, MARY SIMON; Circulation Manager, ROSE M. GREEN.

Editorial Associate, ERNEST GRUENING

Washington, ROBERT SHERRILL; London, RAYMOND WILLIAMS; Paris, CLAUDE BOURDET; Bonn, C. AMERY; Jerusalem, HERBERT KROSNEY; Canberra, C. P. FITZGERALD; U.N., ANNE TUCKERMAN.

The Nation is published weekly (except biweekly in July and August) by the Nation Company and copyright 1973 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10014. Tel: CH 2-8400. Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y.

Subscription Price: One year $15; two years, $27.50. Add $1 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $2 other foreign.

Change of Address: It is essential that subscribers ordering a change of address give five weeks' notice and provide their old as well as their new address. Please give Zip Code numbers for both addresses.

Manuscripts. All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Book Review Index and the Public Affairs Information Service.

THE NATION *Volume 216*
No. 17

The Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
Johnson City, Tennessee
APR 23 '73

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

share in 1967 it soared to $81 in 1969. Institutions of the highest repute, both financial and nonprofit, served by the canniest experts, bought it in a big way: the Ford Foundation, the Dreyfus Fund, Morgan Guaranty, Princeton University and others. And, as always, the "little fellows" followed in their wake.

Then came the debacle. It was preceded by some insubstantial reports, no more than rumors, to which no one gave credence. A former employee—a whistle blower—went to Raymond L. Dirks, an expert in insurance stocks who, convinced that Equity Funding was indeed in trouble, notified some of his clients. That was on March 6; word got around; the stock fell from $28.12 a share to $14.38. On March 26 Dirks went to the Securities and Exchange Commission. Trading in the stock was suspended the following day and the scandal-ridden company is now in reorganization under federal bankruptcy laws. (Dirks finds himself in trouble for allegedly supplying his clients with information that was not publicly available.)

The most important aspect of this exceedingly tangled situation is that on the surface there was nothing suspicious before early March. Auditors had audited, and auditors had audited auditors. Equity Funding was, to the naked eye, a perfectly sound company. It was described as a financial services conglomerate, and that added to its respectability, since conglomerates are supposed to be diversified and hence more nearly impregnable—a myth which by this time should have been exploded.

"Who would have thought," an attorney familiar with the case said to *The Wall Street Journal*, "that what looked like a thriving concern a week or two weeks ago would be a candidate for dismemberment today? And think of the tens of thousands of people, the companies, who will feel the effects." And a knowledgeable enforcement official quoted in *The New York Times*: "There simply was no reason to suspect that executives of a well-known mutual company would go to such lengths to invent the kind of transactions that appear to have been carried on its books to form the basis for inflated assets."

Some tentative conclusions seem in order. An almost totally fictitious financial situation, with two-thirds of the underlying insurance policies bogus, might have endured for a long time. If the books balance, auditors do not normally pry into what the entries represent. To the extent that Equity Funding was "regulated" or "investigated," it might have remained in business indefinitely. The SEC was slow in catching on to the most blatant irregularities. Life insurance, widely regarded as a business closely supervised by the states and the federal government, is actually often able to go its way unimpeded by outside scrutiny.

One insurance commissioner who was not taken in was Pennsylvania's tough-minded Herbert Denenberg. He did not know that the company was crooked, but he refused to license it to do business in his state because he had found it to be "one of the highest cost companies in the country." In retrospect, that can be seen as a tip-off. Equity Life had a large corps of salesmen, who received commissions amounting to the first year's premium, or more. That is normal, but some 56,000 bogus policies were involved, which Equity Life largely sold to reinsurers at about 180 per cent of the first year's premium. What with all the sales and resales and plundering of assets, naturally costs were high.

Now, as always in such scandals, there is a great uproar about who knew what, and who is responsible. Big blocks of stock were sold between March 6 and March 27, presumably by "insiders" who knew that the bubble would soon burst. The April 11th *New York Times* reports that the Boston Company, a major investment house, is charging Salomon Brothers, another major investment firm, with "trying to welch" on its purchase of 457,200 shares of Equity Funding. Princeton University, a client of John W. Bristol & Co., a Boston Company affiliate, owns 66,000 shares of this disputed block.

Part of the press, perhaps desiring to minimize the impact, has referred to the scandal as a "caper," a word that was used also to describe the Watergate mess in its early phases. But Equity Funding is no caper, even if some of its officers regarded their "mugging" of the investing public in that light. *Newsweek* (April 16) quotes one former officer as saying that Equity Funding Life executives were jubilant when they found that their scheme was working. "They thought it was hilarious. . . . They thought it was funny as hell to jab another company that way." Was it really so hilarious? The image of our society reflected in Watergate and Equity Funding is anything but funny.

Loneliest Man in Town

Like a lot of other politicians, Spiro Agnew is keeping a low profile, telling friends to bear him in mind for 1976 and keeping his eye on the opposition. But unlike the others, there is not much else that Agnew can do. No matter what the television commercial says, Agnew is the loneliest man in town.

After the 1968 election, President Nixon announced that Agnew would have an office in the White House, and would play a significant role. The Vice President ended up in the Executive Office Building with Nixon's second-level aides, and a very minor part to play. One of his first assignments was to lobby in the Senate for Administration legislation. He carried his arm-twisting to the Senate floor and drew such criticism that he was forced to retreat. Since then he has all but ignored his only constitutional duty, to preside over the Senate.

Nixon abolished the National Aeronautics and Space Council, and thus Agnew's job as its head. For a short time he served as a White House liaison with the nation's mayors and governors, but lost out in a Presidential reorganization. He has made six trips abroad, largely ceremonial affairs. Agnew still attends Cabinet meetings and holds a seat on the National Security Council. He is in charge of a White House unit dealing with Indian affairs, but neither he nor his council had any role in solving the recent Indian turmoil. Early this year he offered to act as a go-between for Senators wishing to deal with the White House. There were no takers, mainly because Senate leaders have more contact with the President than does Agnew.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He makes an average of two speeches a week—a state YMCA dinner, a testimonial for a freshman Congressman, a rapid transit seminar, picking up a "Splendid American" award—but the rhetoric has gone cold. There is none of the alliteration that was his trademark in the early years of Nixon's first term. He pinch-hits for the President once in a while: a public appearance or a guided tour of Washington for President Thieu.

Agnew's political future remains cloudy. Maybe Reagan and Rockefeller aren't too old after all, and John Connally is considering what might be gained by switching parties. The decision has been made to make no decision until 1974. Agnew will spend his time traveling around the country, boosting the careers of Republicans, hoping to collect political IOUs as Nixon did in 1966. Otherwise, he will spend most of his time in his office, emerging to deny any rift with Nixon, or defending his controversial friendship with Frank Sinatra.

Only three men have served their full terms as Vice President and gone on to become President. It is an obscure office, designed to serve as a final resting place for politicians who proved more useful to others than to themselves.

What Now for the FBI?

L. Patrick Gray III should never have been nominated as director of the FBI; so much is obvious. To begin with, he had no experience in law enforcement. Even worse was his unquestioning "loyalty" to his commanding officer—a quality necessary in a naval officer, such as Gray was for twenty years; but incongruous when the superior officers are politicians and the job demands independence from partisan influences. And not least, Gray was an unknown, selected for a post that requires above all public recognition and confidence.

Actually, without enumerating further, it was unfair to Gray himself that he was proposed. But Gray's very anonymity served Nixon's purpose, and the nominee did all right, by Nixon's standards, until he began testifying about Watergate. His testimony did him credit, and it tells much about the Administration that, as soon as Gray displayed the virtue of candor, he became *persona non grata* in the White House.

It is a transparent myth that he stepped down. He was brushed aside with the usual hypocritical praise and regrets. He was through when the Judiciary Committee indicated it would not act on his nomination until John Dean appeared before it to tell what he knew about Watergate. The decision was unanimous and the seven Republican members of the sixteen-member group concurred in it. They could hardly do otherwise, after Gray had acknowledged that he gave Dean the FBI files on Watergate and it was known that Dean had been delegated by the President to investigate the scandal. Mr. Nixon can read that kind of message: besides, his entourage, and presumably the President himself, were annoyed with Gray for his forthright testimony.

Now what? But first, now who?

Various names have been batted about. One story mentions Mayor Frank L. Rizzo of Philadelphia as "a dark horse possibility." We may pray that this is only a rumor; compared with Rizzo, Gray is a shining example of fitness. Henry E. Peterson is another conjectural nominee but, as Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Justice Department's criminal division, he headed the Watergate investigation. U.S. District Judge Matthew Byrne, at present presiding over the Pentagon Papers trial in Los Angeles, comes closer to the type of nominee who cannot be dismissed out of hand, but at this stage it is all speculation.

The vitally important factor is the thought processes of Mr. Nixon. Is it too much to ask that, just this once, he should rise to the occasion and send to the Senate a name which will inspire general approbation? If he wishes to be statesmanlike and feels he needs assistance, he can poll the deans of the top ten law schools and ponder their suggestions; or he can appoint an advisory panel of leading law-enforcement authorities, lawyers, members of Congress and others whose previous services to government inspire confidence.

But there is an even more basic issue than the choice of the next FBI director, and Sen. Robert C. Byrd has put his finger on it. This is the time to scrutinize the FBI's past, in order to direct its future in the public interest. Under J. Edgar Hoover the agency was largely nonpolitical: that was his one undisputed merit amid avid publicity seeking, tyrannical rule and assumption of infallibility. Neither a succession of Presidents nor Congress had any control over the FBI during Hoover's forty-eight-year tenure. Senator Byrd points out that Hoover's FBI was the one agency of government that lacked an oversight committee in Congress. The creation of such a committee is a necessity.

Then there is the question of tenure. At first Mr. Byrd thought the director should be reconfirmed every four years; lately he has come around to nine, twelve, even fifteen years. Four years is too short, anything beyond nine years is too long.

Tenure is important but not as important as a sharp look at the past policies of the FBI and an interrogation of the new nominee in the light of its great power and commensurate threat to civil liberties. Here are some of the questions which should be asked:

¶How many individuals has the FBI kept under surveillance for reasons not directly connected with law enforcement? The number may be in doubt, but the practice is not. On what warrant has this been done?

¶What has the FBI done in the way of building files on political candidates? On members of Congress in particular? On newsmen? On other individuals not charged with or suspected of criminal activity?

¶What is FBI practice regarding informers, particularly in political cases? How many? Paid how much? Over what periods of time?

¶The Seattle conspiracy case has been dropped, as it should have been long ago. What was the role of the FBI in this case? In the Harrisburg conspiracy case? In the Chicago conspiracy case? For the prosecution, all these cases were disasters. Why were they ever initiated? Who insisted on prosecution—the White House, the Attorney General or the FBI?

¶What about the way in which information is known

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to have been leaked to mass-circulation magazines, the only purpose of which, in the context, could have been to bias opinion against individuals about to be tried, or actually on trial?

With 8,500 agents on its payroll, the FBI is a powerful force in government, impinging increasingly on the life of the individual citizen. This fact alone warrants close inquiry by the Senate into the views of Mr. Nixon's second choice. But before approving a new nominee, the Senate should first take a look at the FBI, its policies and practices. A new director is needed, but that can wait, for a time at least. Mr. Gray can carry on as acting director.

The Braintree Greaseballs

A new and perhaps final light has been shed on the Sacco-Vanzetti case, a *cause célèbre* that has been a nettle in the American conscience for more than fifty years. This new revelation consists of an alleged statement by Frank (Butsey) Morelli, the one-time Mafia boss of Rhode Island, that he and his mob committed the hold-up-murder for which Sacco and Vanzetti were executed.

Morelli's account is contained in the new book, *My Life in the Mafia*, as related by Vincent Teresa to Thomas C. Renner, an expert crime reporter for *Newsday*. Teresa, it will be recalled, was the highly placed Mafia figure who turned informer and shocked horse race addicts when he testified last year before the McClellan committee of the U.S. Senate that races are rigged at virtually every track in the nation. He has since testified before grand juries and in criminal trials, with the result that some fifty top crime figures have been indicted or convicted.

The Sacco-Vanzetti case goes back to April 15, 1920, when two payroll guards of the Slater & Morrill shoe factory in South Braintree, Mass., were gunned down in a $15,776 holdup. In the red-baiting, witch-hunt atmosphere of the times, Massachusetts justice fixed upon two admitted anarchists—Nicola Sacco, "the good shoemaker," and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, "the poor fish peddler"—as the murderers. In a travesty of a trial marked by manufactured and distorted evidence, Sacco and Vanzetti were convicted. After a series of appeals and post-trial discoveries that shocked the nation, they went to their deaths in the electric chair in late August 1927.

A vital part of the evidence that was scorned on every level of Massachusetts officialdom had been unearthed by Herbert H. Ehrmann, one of the defense counsels on appeal. It dealt with a clear chain of evidence linking the Morelli brothers to a series of previous South Braintree shoe factory robberies and implicated them in the crime for which Sacco and Vanzetti had been convicted. As Ehrmann disclosed in his 1969 book, *The Case That Will Not Die,* he finally obtained a partial admission from Joseph Morelli, who said he had plotted the holdup but who, not wishing to open himself to a murder charge, insisted that Sacco and Vanzetti, with others, had committed the actual deed.

Against this background, Teresa's account of Frank Morelli's disclosure rings true. Morelli, Teresa says, was incensed in the late 1950s when the *Boston Globe* printed an article associating him with the South Braintree crime. Morelli had hidden his criminal past from the adopted son who was the light of his life, and he swore he would sue the *Globe* for libel. Teresa's account continues:

> I looked at Butsey. I didn't know much about the case except what I had heard. But he was upset because of what was happening to his boy, not what happened to Sacco and Vanzetti. "We whacked them out, we killed those guys in the robbery," Butsey said. "These two greaseballs [Sacco and Vanzetti] took it on the chin. They got in our way [presumably, the two slain guards] so we just ran over them. Now after all these years some punch-drunk writer has got to start up the whole thing over again—ruin my reputation. . . ." I said, "Did you really do this?" He looked at me, right into my eyes, and said: "Absolutely, Vinnie. Those two suckers took it on the chin for us. That just shows you how much justice there really is."

Butsey Morelli, who is now dead, at least appreciated a fact that Massachusetts officialdom, in all the decades since, has refused to recognize: by executing Sacco and Vanzetti, Massachusetts closed the official book on the case—and cleared the way for Morelli to go on to greater things as the Mafia boss of all Rhode Island. It is something to think about in an era when the clamor rises for reinstitution of capital punishment. FRED J. COOK

WHAT A WAY TO CARRY THE MAIL!

JAMES H. RADEMACHER
Mr. Rademacher is president of the National Association of Letter Carriers.

The mail service in America today is the worst it has ever been in our history. It is of a quality that would be considered a disgrace in many nations we are pleased to consider second or third rate.

The pity of it is that the dissolution of the service is entirely unnecessary. It has been artificially induced by short-sighted policies and public-be-damned economies. The managers of the postal corporation, the United States Postal Service, could restore decent service tomorrow—if only they would.

However, the trouble with the postal establishment stems from a basic misapprehension: the managers of the postal corporation suppose that they can run the post office at a profit, or, at worst, can break even. It is not possible. Nowhere in the free world has a major nation been able to make a profit out of the mail service, per se. Even England, a postal manager's dream, where distances are short and the population is closely compacted, was never able, consistently, to break even on its postal service. The General Post Office has made good the losses on the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mails by its profits from television, radio, telephone and telegraph operations. In America, where distances are vast and the population is spread comparatively thin, it is folly to think of breaking even on the mails.

The managers can try to raise the rates steeply, but that is a self-defeating maneuver, since it drives potential business out of the Post Office. They can try to keep down the wages of postal employees, but the employees have made it quite clear that they will no longer stand for such treatment. They can also try to cut down on the service they give to the American people. Indeed, that is what is now causing all the trouble.

It has long puzzled me that people should talk with horror about the *postal* deficit, but never speak of the Commerce Department deficit, the Interior Department deficit, and so on. The Post Office is a service to the American people, and no service is more essential to the social, political and economic welfare of the citizens. In a free society, it is vital that the mails should be swift, reliable and available to every citizen, no matter how remote his abode, at a cost he can afford.

The conservative argument is that, since the Post Office charges specified prices for services to identifiable customers, it is a business, and that the actual users of the mails should pay the total cost of its operation. In rebuttal, I point out that the National Park Service, just as an example, charges identifiable people a small entrance fee to many of our national parks. Should these fees be set high enough to cover all the costs of running the parks, including the rangers' salaries?

In testimony, before Congress, I have used the example of the lighthouse service. Does anyone think the cost of running this service should be borne only by the ships that are guided by it? After all, a rancher in the panhandle of Texas might argue—persuasively if short-sightedly—that since he derives no direct benefit from the lighthouses, he should pay nothing to keep them going.

But, people who run corporations have tunnel vision when it comes to profits. During the past two years, they have managed to wreck the postal service, which was not in very good shape when they took it over. Here are some of the things they did:

¶Refused to fill jobs as they became vacant. There is an estimated shortage of 60,000 employees in the service, including 10,000 letter carriers.

¶Eliminated many collections of mail, particularly on weekends. The mail just sits in the boxes for an unconscionable time—sometimes for days—waiting to be picked up and sent on its way.

¶Shortened window hours and eliminated much window service on Saturdays.

¶In many cities, eliminated Saturday deliveries to business areas.

¶Reduced the services for forwarding mail.

¶Forbade postal employees to attempt to deliver a package a second time, even though the householder promises to be at home. After the first failure, the patron must pick up his package at the post office.

¶Centralized processing operations, thus causing some letters to travel hundreds of miles when they are addressed to somebody across the street. (And the stubborn refusal to fill job vacancies has caused massive backups when the letters reach these centers.)

¶Reduced the airlift of first-class mail to a shadow of its former self.

There have been other causes of postal failure, but those are sufficient to show just what has been going on in the United States Postal Service. What can be done

Don Hesse; St. Louis Globe-Democrat

"But I Want You to Notice—We Have Cut Costs"

about it? The letter carriers of the United States, through me, have made the following recommendations:

¶Reverse all the backward steps the postal corporation has already taken.

¶Pass legislation which would establish, by law, certain attainable standards of delivery and service. (Rep. Ellwood Hillis, R., Ind., Rep. Jerome R. Waldie, D., Calif., and about thirty other Congressmen have introduced such bills.)

¶Pass legislation which would give Congress, once again, a decisive vote in postage rate-making. (The attempt by the United States Postal Service to raise second-class mail a ruinous 127 to 250 per cent in five years shows that these matters would best be left to people who are directly responsible to the public.)

¶The determination by Congress of how much annual subsidy is needed to operate the postal service, efficiently. The money so paid should be openly labeled as a subsidy, not disguised as something it isn't. (There is nothing wrong about a subsidy. The nation pays out $60 billion a year in subsidies, and a lot of that money goes for projects a great deal less important than the postal service.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

¶When the mail service is brought back to normal, Congress should pass legislation which would redefine and strengthen the postal monopoly laws. Too many valuable customers are turning in desperation to often illegal, private delivery systems. These abuses are depriving the postal service of badly needed revenues. On the other hand, the postal service should work a great deal harder to *deserve* the monopoly it enjoys.

¶The Presidentially appointed nine-man Board of Governors of the U.S. Postal Service should not be immune to Congressional interrogation. They should report to Congress every year and, singly and collectively, be made to give an accounting of their stewardship of the nation's mails.

For years, the National Association of Letter Carriers has fought to maintain decent standards of service in the postal establishment. On postal matters, the union has at times been the only real "lobbyist" for the American people.

From experience stretching over eighty-four years, we know that Congress isn't perfect. But, we also know that Congress is far more responsive to public reaction than are the appointed, faceless corporation types who are now running and ruining the nation's mails. The public reaction today is bitter. The letter carriers know, because they meet the American people every working day of the year, and often bear the brunt of blame for a postal mess they never made. Congress cannot afford to wash its hands of this scandalous situation. Anything that affects almost every citizen in the country, directly or indirectly, every working day of the year, deeply concerns Congress and weighs heavily on the political futures of its members. Up on Capitol Hill, they had better get cracking. □

DOLLARS & DEPENDENCE

BLUEPRINT FOR SOUTHEAST ASIA

MARK SELDEN
Mr. Selden's most recent books are Open Secret: The Kissinger-Nixon Doctrine in Asia *(Harper & Row) and* The Yenan Way in Revolutionary China *(Harvard University Press). He teaches at Washington University (St. Louis) and works with the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars.*

As the United Nations contemplated its "Second Development Decade," planners in the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the primary multilateral organization overseeing the Asian economy, commissioned a study, *Southeast Asia's Economy in the 1970's.* Released by Praeger in 1971, this volume is a valuable primer for those who would understand the contemporary direction of neocolonialism in Asia. Now Praeger has put out the report's basic conclusions, with a new introduction, in a paperback: *Southeast Asia's Economy: Development Policies in the 1970's.* The ADB is one of several regional development banks chartered in the 1960s to open up Third World economies to foreign capital and to reduce the U.S. profile by creating multilateral organizations in Third World countries.

The study was initiated, characteristically, by the Ford Foundation, which provided "the original terms of reference" for charting a course in an Asia beyond the era of the Indochinese war. The principal authors, reflecting the financial-power realities of the ADB itself, are Japanese and American bureaucrats and economists. The report is spiced with marginal criticisms of the conventional wisdom of development specialists of the 1960s. Its primary interest, however, derives from the bluntness with which it prescribes a pattern of permanent subordination of Southeast Asian economies to the industrialized nations (in the delicate language of the report, an "international division of labor"), as being the key to their economic development. Above all, the comprehensive report prepared by Prof. Hla Myint of the London School of Economics on the basis of individual studies, and now expanded in the paperback, drives home the full thrust of ADB recommendations to Asian governments; here the vision of Southeast Asia in the late 1970s emerges in clearest perspective.

What does the future hold for the economies of that region? Three facets touched on by Professor Myint seem central to a prospectus for the future that is rapidly being translated into reality:

(*1*) *The Green Revolution.* Here lies the key to the agrarian problem confronting the predominantly peasant populations of the region. "The Green Revolution can be turned into a genuine force for economic development by raising agricultural productivity" (p. 160, 1972 paperback edition).

(*2*) *International Trade.* Southeast Asia has a vital contribution to make to international trade. The key is "to link up her abundant natural resources with the expanding world market demand" (read, primarily Japan) (p. 161).

(*3*) *Foreign Investment.* "Given their abundant natural resources but limited domestic markets, the Southeast Asian countries should try to attract private foreign investment into their primary export industries . . ." (p. 161).

The ADB study is predicated on the unspoken assumption that existing internal class relations and external relations between Southeast Asian nations and foreign powers will be maintained. Indeed, the issue is scarcely broached, except to warn against the dangers of "instability." In the face of poverty, degradation and widespread economic stagnation produced by a combina-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion of foreign trade and investment interests and indigenous landlord and commercial exploitation, the ADB solution is simple: more of the same.

In his introductory chapter, Professor Myint draws his economic blueprint for the future according to the record of colonialism in Asia before World War II. For Myint, colonialism is primarily a success story: "The expansion in the exports of primary products has been the mainspring of economic development in Southeast Asia since the region was opened to international trade and foreign investment in the late nineteenth century. . . . The second factor which helped Southeast Asia's export expansion was the free entry of private foreign investment into the primary export industries. . . . The third factor . . . is the growth of peasant export products" (pp. 23-24). Thus the future charted for Southeast Asia is truly neocolonial, extending into the indefinite future the economic patterns of classical colonialism. This insures a form of "development" based on subordination to foreign economic interests, a textbook formulation of what André Gunder Frank has called the development of underdevelopment.

Throughout this volume, development is equated with capital accumulation, aggregate profits, gross national product and technological advance. One searches in vain for significant reference to the human consequences of this mode of development. That is no oversight: the authors know with precision into whose pockets profits will flow; and they know full well the consequences of their policies for the millions who will remain hungry, victims of the "development" patterns which flow ineluctably from their recommendations.*

Southeast Asia's Economy heralds the Green Revolution—the application of new high-yield seed strains—as the brightest hope for rural Southeast Asia. But who is to direct this "revolution" and what is its anticipated effect on the rural societies of Southeast Asia? The study pulls no punches here. The initiative must be left to private marketing arrangements—including both local merchants and international agri-business. Professor Myint notes in passing the "possible disequalizing effects" of the Green Revolution. Indeed, wherever the Green Revolution has spread its tentacles, it has accentuated the concentration of rural wealth and power in the hands of rich peasants and international agri-business. But ever true to the principles of the free market, Professor Myint dwells enthusiastically on the efficiency of this process in making Southeast Asia's markets internationally competitive. Ruling out land reform (even on the conservative U.S.-sponsored model of Taiwan and Japan), he blithely concludes that concentration of *ownership* is inevitable, but "what can be preserved is the small-scale tenancy" (p. 57).

The ability of the Green Revolution to sustain consistently high productivity remains in doubt. (Indeed, recent reports from the Philippines, the Asian showplace of the Green Revolution, indicate that in 1972 the rice

harvest declined for the second successive year.) What is beyond question is that the Green Revolution concentrates rural power in the hands of those with substantial capital, including international agri-business; that it intensifies disparities between prosperous and poor regions; that it contributes to rising tenancy and absentee landlordism, ecological imbalance and the destruction of village welfare systems—all of which induce large-scale migration from the land to urban slums.

The Green Revolution, which assumes heavy inputs of chemical fertilizer and advanced technology, is one vital link between the agrarian nations of Southeast Asia and the international capitalist economy. Trade is a second link in the internationalization of Southeast Asian economies. Brushing aside the view that industrialization is crucial to breaking the bonds of underdevelopment, and ignoring the steadily declining role of natural resources in global trade, Professor Myint insists that the true interest of Southeast Asian nations lies in the "international division of labor." In this view, the golden opportunity for the region in the 1970s is the mounting demand of industrialized countries for natural resources. Of course, it is above all Japan whose surging economy devours increasing slices of global raw materials; already its trade with Southeast Asia far exceeds that of the United States. Analysts for the giant Mitsubishi and Mitsui firms, or for the Ministry of International Trade and Industry of Japan Incorporated, could scarcely state it more neatly: Southeast Asia will provide the raw materials, Japan the capital, technology and manufactured goods.

At no point do crude power or strategic considerations intrude upon the grand development design projected by the ADB. Yet the conclusions here are strikingly similar to certain themes that run through the Pentagon Papers

*Professor Myint does pay occasional lip service to reducing income inequalities, reducing luxury consumption and bridging the urban-rural chasm. As we shall see, however, by insuring that power remains in the hands of precisely those classes and interests which profit by and enforce present policies, his recommendations lead to the aggravation of these problems.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and other U.S. documents from the Truman to the Nixon era, linking the future of Japan to Southeast Asia in the larger service of American global designs. Consider, for example, these remarks by President Eisenhower, made near the end of his Presidency:

> As a different kind of example of free nation interdependence, there is Japan, where very different problems exist—but problems equally vital to the security of the free world. Japan is an essential counterweight to Communist strength in Asia. . . . More than perhaps any other industrial nation, Japan must export to live. . . .
>
> One of Japan's greatest opportunities for increased trade lies in a free and developing Southeast Asia. So we see that the two problems I have been discussing are two parts of a single one—the great need in Japan is for raw materials; in Southern Asia it is for manufactured goods. The two regions complement each other markedly. So, by strengthening Vietnam and helping insure the safety of the South Pacific and Southeast Asia we gradually develop the great trade potential between this region, rich in natural resources, and highly industrialized Japan to the benefit of both. In this way freedom in the Western Pacific will be greatly strengthened and the interests of the whole free world advanced.

In Eisenhower's Washington, American policy makers took it for granted that Japan would faithfully serve American economic and strategic interests in Asia, thus insuring sufficient power to resist the anticipated European challenge to U.S. hegemony. In the 1970s, however, Japan plays an increasingly independent role. It could scarcely be expected to act otherwise, given the emergence of its trade and investment as dominant in the region, the rapid growth of its capital for overseas investment, and the resurgence of the Japanese military coincident with phased withdrawal of American troops. As late as 1969, Japan's direct global investment amounted to just $2.7 billion, compared with $70.7 billion for the United States. Projections by the Japanese Economic Research Center tor 1980 show a rise in Japanese investment abroad to $25.9 billion, including $5.5 billion in Asia. The dynamism of the Japanese economy—both the challenge to U.S. interests abroad and the balance of trade surplus running in Japan's favor to the tune of several billion dollars annually—has raised tensions in the U.S.-Japanese alliance as the fundamental premise of Japanese dependence becomes an anachronism. American global power still far exceeds that of Japan, but the United States can no longer call the shots unilaterally in Asia, least of all in the economic sphere.

Unfurling the banner of free trade, Professor Myint insists that the removal of all impediments—by both the strong and the weak—will contribute to the development of Southeast Asian economies and redound to the benefit of all concerned. Thus he levels criticisms at all parties: at Southeast Asian nations which attempt to protect infant industries from destruction at the hands of international corporations; and at international powers like the United States (whose Public Law 480 agricultural assistance program is aptly termed "agricultural dumping") and Japan (whose government price supports for rice also are tantamount to dumping) (p. 86). This even-handed judgment seems admirable in the abstract. However, it ignores the experience of four centuries during which the powerful imposed Ricardian free trade principles on the weak, while themselves violating those principles to protect favored sectors of their economies. Economic historian Carlo Cippola captures the irony of such proposals by pondering rhetorically whether the course of history might well have been different had India developed a Ricardo of its own:

> It was fortunate for England that no Indian Ricardo arose to convince the English people that, according to the law of comparative cost, it would be advantageous for them to turn into shepherds and to import from India all the textiles that were needed. Instead, England passed a series of acts designed to prevent importation of Indian textiles and some "good results" were achieved.

No more than an Indian Ricardo can Professor Myint prevail on the powerful to turn this weapon of international expansion against themselves—particularly as the collapse of the dollar spurs U.S. protectionism. It is precisely their ability to enforce the international division of labor on the weak, and to override all barriers restricting the expansion of trade and investment, that produces their wealth and power and that remains in the 1970s a major barrier to autonomous development for the nations of Southeast Asia.

The third vital link in the international penetration of Southeast Asia's economy is foreign investment. Professor Myint insists that "The only meaningful way of defining the national economic interests of a country is in terms of its economic gains and losses affecting the size of its national income and the rate of its economic growth" (p. 90). From this postulate the conclusion is inescapable that the doors should be thrown open to foreign investment, above all in the export sectors, including both primary and manufactured goods. And that is precisely what the report concludes:

> Thus two main lines of policy are indicated: the Southeast Asian countries should make the most out of their natural resources by permitting freer entry of private foreign investment into primary production and charging the full "economic rent" on the natural resources; and they should attract private foreign investment by making their resources more attractive . . . (p. 162).

No need, in this pure vision of "national economic interest," to yield to "parochial" fears of foreign domination of critical sectors of the economy, or of increased income inequalities between regions and among classes, or of large-scale outflow of funds as profits are repatriated abroad, or of the demise of local industry that is unable to compete with the international giants. Yet these are among the most notable trends of recent decades and the inevitable results of the ADB's strategy for "development" in the 1970s.

Professor Myint attacks one view that is persistently advanced by Southeast Asian planners of nationalist persuasion: their emphasis on industrializing their countries, with the corollary policies of erecting tariff walls and imposing investment restrictions to protect infant industries from foreign domination. Professor Myint sticks to the related principles of the free flow of goods and capital

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and the international division of labor. He employs no euphemisms here, but looks squarely at a future in which the present industrial powers will permanently dominate Southeast Asia's industrial sector. Indeed, he embraces the idea. Nationalist "prejudices and fears," he insists, must be overcome; developments in which Southeast Asian economies which concentrate on what they do best —provide raw materials—will best serve the national economic interest.

The ADB study rejects out of hand attempts by Southeast Asian countries to industrialize through import substitution or other methods designed to reduce dependence on foreign manufacturers. What industrial development does occur should be limited to such labor-intensive export industries as making transistors, industries invariably dominated by multinational corporations. On one important point the study is indeed correct: to date, import substitution *has* failed dismally to produce significant industrialization or to stimulate overall economic development in Southeast Asia. However, the primary reason for this failure is not, as this study suggests, that industrialization for internal consumption is inherently inefficient because of the small size of the domestic market. While small nations face particularly formidable obstacles to autonomous industrialization, all prospect for the creation of industry free of foreign domination has been systematically undermined by the powerful multinational corporations. Wherever the open door to free investment prevails the international conglomerates overwhelm and buy out the most promising nascent industries. Professor Myint's emphasis on the development of labor-intensive export industries reflects the emerging face of neocolonialism in contemporary Asia; it is the basis for the "economic miracles" which have transformed the economies of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Korea. As Japanese and U.S. multinational corporations extend their search for disciplined, cheap labor, Southeast Asian countries will become increasingly involved in manufacturing. However, both the products and the profits will flow abroad from manufacturing enclaves, bestowing none of the potential benefits of industrialization on the peoples of these countries.

Will the ADB recommendations be implemented in the coming decade, maintaining and spreading the domination of Southeast Asia by the industrialized powers and their multinational corporations? Recent American defeats in Indochina, in the demise of the dollar as the bedrock of the international economy, and in the collapse of an Asian policy predicated on the encirclement and isolation of China should blind no one to the awesome array of power confronting any nation having the temerity to challenge the reigning assumptions of the free world economy or otherwise asserting its independence. If the United States faces the prospect of withdrawing its military forces from Indochina and trimming them elsewhere in Asia, the upcoming $81 billion military budget is predicated on maintaining a network of bases and of air and naval power which are the sinews of empire under the Nixon doctrine. If very real tensions have emerged between Japan and the United States as the fundamental premise of Japanese subordination must be scrapped, the poor nations of Asia face a far more diverse challenge. The United States now vies with Japan, Western Europe and the Soviet Union to shape the future of the area.

What of the forces of revolution? The peoples' war in Vietnam and throughout Indochina has struck a blow not only at United States power but at great power hegemony in Asia. Victory in Indochina, which will be consummated despite U.S. efforts to sabotage the cease-fire accords, cannot but encourage those who have joined in armed struggle for national independence in Thailand, the Philippines and elsewhere. Yet nowhere in Asia outside Indochina is there a highly developed armed struggle. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, following the signing of a Vietnamese cease-fire, noted that their experience

> proves that in the present era a nation which, even with no large territory and no big population, has a judicious revolutionary line, knows how to unite the entire people and achieve international solidarity, and is determined to fight and win, can certainly defeat any aggressive foe.

True enough, but their heroic struggle demonstrates no less profoundly what destruction may be visited on a people striving for national liberation. As in the aftermath of the victory of the Chinese Revolution, we should expect no sudden upsurge of revolutionary activity throughout Southeast Asia. The most dynamic tendency in the short run is the increasing aggressiveness of Japanese expansion. In the long run, however, the outlook for Asian revolution seems rather more hopeful, as the dynamism of Asian Socialist societies increasingly contrasts with the shabby record of degradation, dependency and dictatorship in those nations which accept the international division of labor recommended by Professor Myint and the ADB and enforced by United States and Japanese power. □

LETTERS *(Continued from page 514)*

is that Professor Heller and I are approximately the same age, and that after completing my doctorate in Mediaeval History at Princeton in the early 1950s there were numerous opportunities for teaching positions. I can hardly take credit for being one of those who suffered long and hard in the struggle to open the doors to employment in higher education to Jews. I am afraid that Mr. Sourian's mythical student is either a creation of his own fancy or some poor soul who is at war with her husband and the world.

My own background, insofar as it is pertinent, was never one of poverty, and my family for many generations has been involved in scholarship. My education was not received at City College but elsewhere at three private colleges and universities. I can, however, say that just as Professor Heller has a tremendous love for his alma mater I too came to identify myself with the college and its

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

students from the moment I came to it as a very young member of the faculty.

What is most important, however, is the problem of Open Admissions as presently attempted at the City College and the misrepresentation of the position taken by Professor Heller and myself. At the core of the problem is an attitude toward higher education and its purpose. Prof. Dennis Gabor, Nobel Prize winner in Physics for 1971, takes a very different approach to higher education than does Dr. Robert Marshak, the current president of the City College. In a debate that I had with Dr. Marshak before a large public audience some years ago, he admitted that he believed in higher education for social engineering. A tape exists of that debate which confirms the accuracy of the prediction that I made about the future of Open Admissions as practiced at City College. Professor Gabor, the developer of holography and a world-renowned scholar, in contrast to Dr. Marshak, said in an interview printed in the Jerusalem *Post* (March 3), that the United States "must give up its silly belief that all students are intellectually equal and equally motivated, and that all students should get the same education." According to the *Post* interview, Professor Gabor believes "in skimming off the top students —whose ability would be judged by various tests—and sending them to top universities." Professor Gabor believes that this would involve only 10 per cent of the graduating seniors from high schools, and that the others should be given a different kind of education. He also feels that there should be night schools available to provide a safety valve for entrance into this highest type of education for those who are so motivated, but who may not be successful in a first attempt at admission to a school for the gifted.

As for myself, I certainly do not subscribe to Dr. Marshak's view that the purpose of higher education is to transform society, nor for that matter can I accept the rigid categories of Professor Gabor with fervor. Most educators, however, despite Dr. Marshak's views, and those of Drs. Bowker, Kibbee, Healy, et al., of the City University of New York, have taken the position that the purpose of higher education is perhaps best expressed in the motto of the Smithsonian Institution which gives as its aim the "increase and diffusion of knowledge." If from the increase and diffusion of knowledge in the most effective way certain social changes are engendered, that is a dividend to be treasured and enhanced, but higher education, in contrast to primary education, is not designed primarily for social engineering, notwithstanding the proponents of the current Open Admissions Program. With that in mind one can ask whether arguing over standards isn't really the core of the issue in dealing with colleges and universities, and whether a Dean like Chavarria-Aguilar who, according to Mr. Sourian, considers it a "cop out" hasn't really failed to comprehend that education that does not diffuse increased knowledge simply isn't higher education. If we hope to influence the way our students approach problems and face the world around them, it is not by reducing the quality of their experience in college that we can do so. Even the students at the college recognized that when they called for a re-examination of Open Admissions. In an article in the student newspaper, *The Campus* (Mar. 23), the student editors attacked the reductions in the number of advanced courses given while remedial courses were expanded. Those students wrote, "If students at the College are unable to receive the best possible training in their fields because resources are needed for remedial programs, perhaps it is time for a re-examination of the priorities of this college. . . . Remedial help should not be given out wholesale at the expense of the high-level courses that have made this college one of the most respected institutions of higher learning in the country. To do so would amount to little more than transforming City College into a diploma mill." These same student editors pointed out "that the value of the City College diploma lies in the quality of the education behind it, not in the quantity in which it is handed out."

We must start with the fundamental question concerning the nature of the City College before the introduction of Open Admissions and the lack of understanding of that nature that played a part in the introduction of the current program of Open Admissions. It is a manifest falsehood, and a vicious one, utilized by Mr. Sourian and others, to describe the City College in 1969 as a Jewish preserve in the same sense that Yale was a WASP preserve. Aside from the fact that it is certainly questionable whether or not one can claim that Yale was so overwhelmingly WASP in 1969, the situation at the City College was markedly different. Yale enjoyed the same right of discretionary admission that was held by every private college. That is to say that it might accept students whose academic records were worse than those of other students on the basis of extraneous factors which it chose to apply. The City College, fortunately, did not have that right. It operated solely and exclusively on the merit system in the same fashion as the best New York City public high schools and the civil service system. Students were admitted to matriculation in the day session solely on the basis of their academic records, and no distinction was made between the grades obtained at a most selective high school and those at the worst high school. All of the available places at the college were filled simply by listing the applicants in the order of their grades from high school or a combination of their high school records and an entrance examination score. In addition, the college had an evening session to which, in fact, any student who had received a high school diploma or its equivalent could be admitted. Many of the students admitted through the evening session were highly motivated, working men and women, who after proving their competence could be transferred without any difficulty to matriculated status in the day session. There was absolutely no discretionary power of admission which could have introduced further bias. Blacks, Puerto Ricans and all others entered the college as students under the same rules and knew "no distinction save that of industry, good conduct and intellect." In fact, it has been pointed out that almost 90 per cent of all those who completed an academic program in the high schools were eligible for admission to either the community colleges or the four-year schools in the late 1960s. The top 40 per cent of the city's high school academic graduates were then eligible for admission to the four-year colleges. Thus while those who had received general and vocational diplomas were not eligible for college admission, among those students who had taken the prerequisite courses in high school for college preparation the vast majority were clearly eligible. This is very important in view of the fact that in 1970 one-quarter of the select group of students with high school averages of 80 per cent or better from the city's high schools scored below the average for 12th graders on a reading test. Under the circumstances it is very difficult, if not impossible, to suggest that the City College was too selective about admissions.

What was the effect of this system? The merit system resulted in a very limited measure of selectivity for students based solely on intellectual competence and prior training. It opened the doors to the vast majority of those who desired to enter college and who had taken the necessary training. It was at the same time completely fair in that the same standards applied to all. Those who proved themselves in the evening session and were capable of competing on the same level with those who had been admitted to the day session were transferred into the day session, if they so desired. At the same time, those who had not done as well in high school could take the first two years at one of the community colleges, and they were guaranteed admission to a four-year college in the junior year. The level of scholarship among the students was relatively high, as was their motivation, because each student felt, in effect, that he had won a municipal scholarship for higher education. The courses given at the college were designed for that student body, and the number going on for advanced professional school and graduate school training was exceptionally high.

How did this compare with Open Admissions at the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

large state universities? At the large state universities every student who had received a high school diploma was granted admission, but within the first year large numbers were expelled as unsuited, and there was no special entrance through an evening session in which the student might take a longer period of time to prepare himself. The state university system was costly and wasteful. Our municipal system of higher education based on merit, on the other hand, had a very low dropout rate as compared with the large state institutions, and it provided a continuously open door to those who prepared themselves for intense college work through the evening session. Generations of young men and women of all races and creeds benefited from the excellent education given them at minimal cost. Under the circumstances it was cynical in the extreme to destroy the municipal system of higher education in the name of politics and to say, as did Marvin Schick, the liaison between Mayor Lindsay's office and the City University, "many state universities, including some famous ones, were giving diplomas for very low qualities of work for years, and the country was none the worse for it." Nevertheless Mr. Schick is quoted as saying just that, and the author who quotes him, Martin Mayer, adds, "But the fact is that high school diplomas are being given in New York for work below anything that would be considered acceptable outside big cities, and it is hard to see why City University will not follow the same path."

It is now clear that I was correct when in 1969 I charged that politics was intruding upon higher education through the not so subtle machinations of Mayor Lindsay, and that the ruin of our proud municipal system of higher education at the hands of the social engineers was at hand. Mr. Sourian tells us that Marvin Schick, one of those with whom I debated this matter, who denied at the time that politics was at all an issue, now "says—off the record—that the lockout, fires and violence came *after* (emphasis by Mr. Sourian) Lindsay had asked blacks and Puerto Ricans pushing for OAP (i.e., Open Admissions Program) to give him pressure to work with." It sounds like the same Marvin Schick who in an article several years ago accused Orthodox Jewry of racism, but I hesitate to accept Mr. Sourian's statement as fact in the light of his other distortions. Nevertheless, Martin Mayer has confirmed the political considerations that led Lindsay and Bowker to put forward Open Admissions. What is clear is that leading political figures who had strong connections with the City College as alumni did not support the plan for Open Admissions that Lindsay supported. Rep. Herman Badillo, for one, regarded it as a serious mistake which would harm the college and perpetrate an injustice upon prospective students from poorer homes of whatever race. Similarly the Democratic candidate for mayor, Mario Procaccino, supported quite a different plan for expanding educational opportunity.

There were alternatives, meaningful and carefully considered alternatives, which were intended to preserve the quality and standards of the education given at the City College while attempting to reach down into the mass of underqualified students graduating from the high schools in an attempt to prepare more of them for competition at the college level of education. The basic premises behind these alternative proposals were simple. First, it should be agreed that the primary and secondary systems of education in New York City were so hamstrung in recent years that a certain proportion of those students who might be competent for college work were being lost. Second, since the college experience was by its very nature a competitive one, only those who were properly equipped to compete would stand a chance of success. Third, this preparation for college work had to be given before entrance into the college itself in the form of a pre-baccalaureate school, so that the standards of the college and the quality of the experience offered to the incoming students would not be downgraded. The proponents of the current Open Admissions Program accepted none of these propositions. They reasoned, as "credentialists," instead that the door to economic success and social advancement was the possession of a college degree of any caliber. They also held that a vast number of young men and women from the minority ethnic communities found this door closed to them by reason of the poor motivation that they received at home or by reason of the inferior education given to them in primary and secondary schools. To correct this they believe that all that was necessary was to bring these young men and women to the college; to give them parallel remedial aid while they were in college; and to disallow the expulsion of those found incompetent academically for the first two years of college, so as to reduce the competitive pressure on these students. This was designed to avoid the so-called revolving-door aspect of admission to the large state universities. The only concession made on the matter of standards was to send the bottom half of each class to the community colleges, whereas those with slightly better records went into the four-year colleges. As part of these proposals, at various times, promises were made that no credit would be given for remedial work; that the only purpose of the scheme to keep all students free from the threat of expulsion for academic failure was to allow those who were slow to catch up without fear of expulsion; and that the sole purpose of the program was to lengthen the time that a slow learner might devote to college in covering the same ground as the more gifted student. There were firm assurances that standards would not suffer, that money would be plentiful, and that with proper motivation all would be well. Those of us who saw the fallacies in that reasoning predicted a decline in standards, a gradual extension of college credit to non-college-level remedial work, a decline in the level of student work in class, a higher dropout level, and a loss of standing for the degree offered by the City College. Of course all of these things came to pass, and now we witness the attempt to shift the blame for the failure and even to proclaim the failure a success. Not only has Mr. Sourian written an article to trumpet the success but the City College has hired a public relations firm "to improve the image of the college." Dr. Marshak responded angrily to students who suggested that this was simply the application of cosmetics to conceal basic problems of the college. It is, however, a fact that public relations consultants were not necessary when the college had a strong program, and that my prediction that public relations would become a vital issue at the college for the administration after the educational values were destroyed has come to pass.

At this point it is perhaps most important that we understand what the alternative plans were and why they were rejected on the specious political grounds of so-called popular pressure about which Marvin Schick has already been quoted. A group of professors from the metropolitan area, not all of them from the municipal college system, had understood the pressure for increased educational opportunity and had sympathized with it. I headed that group of professors who began to study the problem as one of the activities of the Metropolitan Region of the University Centers for Rational Alternatives. What was clear from the very beginning was that students who were not prepared for college work could not be unceremoniously thrust into colleges where they would encounter a competitive situation for which they were unequipped. The effect of putting large numbers of unprepared students into classes with well prepared students is to lower the level of work. A student who reads 2 pages an hour with difficulty—and many of them with 5th grade reading scores do graduate from the New York City high schools—simply cannot compete with a student who reads 200 pages an hour with comprehension. In a class composed largely of those who do not read as well nor function as well in an academic environment we now know that teaching and learning tend to settle toward the lower end of the learning spectrum and not in the middle. The students at the top and in the middle are penalized by a slower, more laborious, less interesting system of education. Not only that, but the students at the lower range of the class are often severely damaged by the fact of their own inability to do as well, a fact which they come to regard as proof of inferiority.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As a corollary of this reduction in the level of learning within individual classes, it is also an observed fact that new classes are introduced which are not of college level, but that college credit is given for such work, thus reducing the quality of the learning experience given to those students who are least well prepared. This has become evident at the City College not merely by the introduction of large numbers of freshman level courses of doubtful academic quality in the hope of motivating the ill-prepared, but even by the gradual extension of credit in increasing measure to work that is clearly not of college level. When remedial work was first introduced at the college, as has been noted, the argument of its proponents was that it would never bear credit, but it would serve to improve performance and to motivate students. Experience runs counter to those claims. At the City College it has been admitted that college credit is being given for remedial work which is not of college level, and that it has not materially aided the students who are simultaneously trying to take college-level courses. I volunteered to teach a freshman-level course in history at the college while so many of the proponents of Open Admissions refuse to do so, and I discovered to my shock and dismay that only a very small percentage of the students in that class could read and write in any language at the level for college students. There was even one young woman who was taking remedial English for the second semester, according to her account, who did not know the order of letters in the English alphabet let alone basic grammar and reading skill. She could not really use the library catalogue or a dictionary.

The plan proposed by the group of professors that I headed recognized all of these points. It also took into account the unique experiment of the so-called freshman program at the graduate center which was a true success, and which was discarded when Open Admissions was begun. In the freshman program at the graduate center, which utilized the most distinguished faculty throughout the university to lecture and the most gifted graduate students as daily teachers, an attempt was made to solve some of the problems by taking the competitive element out of undergraduate education. Since I wrote the plan for the history part of that program and had a very real hand in selecting the teachers, I feel that I can discuss it with confidence. The costs of operation were less than those of any other part of the university. The student body was recruited from those who wished to attend on the basis of descriptions of the program given in the public, private and parochial schools of the city. Without going into too great detail, it can be stated that for several years the students in that program had a most enjoyable and enlightening educational experience as freshmen in the university without the usual feeling of intense competition and with a high level of achievement. By a series of well-conceived plans involving new educational structures, the one-third of the class that was above average in scholastic ability was brought to help the bottom third of the class that would normally not have secured admission to a day session at one of the colleges. The course was broken up into large lecture sections in which the best lecturers in the university lectured to these freshmen, and then into recitation groups of some twenty-five students in each of which the reading assignments were reviewed, and finally into small seminar groups of about five-to-eight students in which these freshmen wrote research papers and in which the better students were forced to assist those less well prepared by a structured arrangement which made all of the students in such a seminar responsible for the work of each student in it. The plan put forward by the professorial group was to have a two-year pre-college program on a trimester calendar which would mesh with the semester calendar of the colleges. All students who did not merit admission to the college on the merit system would be allowed to enter this pre-college program in which they would be taught mathematics, reading skill, grammar and composition, and oral expression or speech as well as one formal course in the social sciences. All of these courses were to be designed to assist students to reach the requisite levels for admission to the college via the merit system. The ability of the student to compete was to be measured by a battery of tests which the student could take as often as he was held to be qualified. As soon as any student qualified he was to be placed in a community college, or if his level of attainment was higher, in a four-year college. Each student was to be allowed two years of this intensive training to prepare him for college. If he reached the required level of competence at any time during that two-year period, he was immediately to be moved on to the college. If, however, he failed to achieve that level of competence within two years, he was dropped from the program. The single social science course which the students were to take during this pre-college training period was to be designed as one in which they could put all of the other skills to constant use. Each trimester of that course was to be of increasing complexity and depth.

This program was rejected, we are told, because the ethnic extremists would not feel that it went far enough in granting degrees to all who wanted them. Instead truly vast sums of money, both state and municipal, were poured into the community and four-year colleges which promptly began to decline under the pressure of ill-prepared students. Instead of getting faculty who would be specifically trained to give instruction in reading and oral expression, etc., the task of teaching such skills was put into the hands of those who were even unfamiliar with the latest mechanical devices for assisting in such instruction. The support given to this proposal for a rational system of pre-college training by some of the leading members of the minority ethnic communities was cast aside as not being politically sound. Instead the aim of the proponents of Open Admissions as put forward by the university administration was to change the colleges to fit the new kind of student and not to mold the student into a fit candidate for higher education. The result is a better than 40 per cent dropout rate which is completely voluntary, an astronomical rise in the budget of the university without concomitant benefits to the students, a sharp decline in standards, and an equally disturbing reduction in the quality of education offered. In a recent interview Provost Saul Touster pointed to the fact which confirmed predictions that I made before the Board of Higher Education when it was considering adoption of this plan for Open Admissions. Dr. Touster estimated that approximately two-thirds of the students admitted under Open Admissions would not receive degrees. He admitted that in the three years since the introduction of Open Admissions increasing numbers of underprepared students have entered the college while the numbers of well-prepared students have declined. In fact, even the total number of students at City College has dropped by almost 2,000 students since 1971, which is a very substantial 16.5 per cent of the present enrollment. College credit for remedial work of pre-college level, the introduction of many new courses of doubtful academic character, and the introduction of a civil service attitude on campus fostered by administrators devoted to regimenting society into new channels are the fruits of the Open Admissions Program. At the City College this has even led to an administrative demand that all prerequisites for courses be dropped, so that in effect virtually every course is a course for beginners. The devalued diploma is now a fact of poorly conceived educational planning. When Vice President Agnew predicted that Open Admissions would reap "100,000 devalued diplomas" he was simply repeating the fears expressed by many leading scholars and educators. It was not an original thought. It had been stated by men like Prof. Dennis Gabor and some of us within the university faculty. Vice Chancellor Healy's reply, "What does Agnew suggest we do with these children, shoot them?" is in no sense responsive or illuminating. The answer lies simply in developing a plan that will work and not in remaining tied to ones that are proven failures. Setting up straw men to attack is hardly a satisfactory substitute to sound educational planning on the part of a university administrator.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One need only read the grim descriptions of classes at the City College published in many journals by proponents of the current Open Admissions Program to understand the problem. At the City College more than half of the freshman English courses are remedial, and almost half of the freshman Mathematics courses are remedial. In history and other fields there is no possibility for remedial work, and the result is an even worse disaster. Freshman examinations simply cannot bear comparison with those of a few years ago, but the proponents of this now discredited Open Admissions Program are simply looking for scapegoats and further communal discord. The problem is not that of teaching millions of serfs to read and to write their names. That problem was solved much earlier by others than the founders of the Russian Revolution. The true problem is to prepare students for higher education, and in Russia they simply weed out those who do not qualify without introducing schemes for Open Admissions. We, in this country, however, are committed to the extension of higher education to all who can qualify, and thus to open the doors to a new educational experience to large numbers. We do this, however, not for the reason given by Chancellor Kibbee, who said, according to Mr. Sourian's quotation, ". . . I count myself among those who view higher education as a mechanism for social change."

Howard L. Adelson, Professor of Mediaeval History
The City College and City University of New York

New York City

DEAR SIRS: In reply to Dr. Adelson: (*a*) I haven't taught a course in the City University since 1964, and am a tenured professor elsewhere; I have no vested interest in OAP. (*b*) If Dr. Adelson read more carefully, he would find I did not cite Marvin Schick as he says I did; in fact I quoted him as saying something rather to the contrary. (*c*) There are other things Dr. Adelson says I said which I did not say.

Peter Sourian

NO FAULT DIVORCE

MYTHS OF AMERICAN MARRIAGE

ROSE DeWOLF
Ms. DeWolf is a news columnist for the Philadelphia Bulletin *and the author of a book on divorce,* The Bonds of Acrimony (*Lippincott*).

The rapidly accelerating divorce rate in the United States is often cited as evidence that the American family is crumbling, but the statistics are misleading. What are really crumbling are the old-fashioned divorce laws.

The number of divorces—and thus the rate—increases every time a state liberalizes its divorce code—but the number of *broken marriages* does not necessarily increase. For example, when New Jersey adopted a more liberal law in 1971, the divorces granted that year were nearly double those of the previous year (26,289 actions, compared with 14,236). However, it developed that the bulk of those divorces were granted to couples who had been separated for ten years or more but had been unable to obtain decrees under the old "tough" law.

When California adopted a law that permitted the dissolution of marriages that had "irretrievably broken down," divorce actions shot up. But the number of divorces in neighboring Nevada, long an "easy divorce" state, went down. Couples who in the past would have had to cross state lines to win a divorce were able to accomplish the same thing at home.

California still has a high divorce rate—it is kept so, in part, by immigrants from other states who come to the coast for a legal decree. When New York made it possible for at least consenting couples to divorce, the state's divorce rate increased, but the then flourishing trade in Mexican divorces fell upon hard times.

The most worthless divorce statistic of all is the one that claims one in four marriages now ends in divorce. There may be one divorce for each four marriages in any given year, but that divorce should be compared not with just the marriages in that year but to all existing marriages. The divorce rate is 13 per cent—about one in eight. And, of course, most people who divorce get married again. Only 3 to 4 per cent of the adult population is divorced and not remarried.

There are now—and undoubtedly there always have been—far more broken marriages than are recognized in divorce statistics. If divorce is a modern phenomenon, marital breakdown surely is not. In Pennsylvania, where divorce is still difficult to obtain if one partner chooses to contest, thousands still legally married live separately in unending warfare. They have done so, in most cases, for five, ten or twenty years.

The movement to liberalize divorce laws in this country, while pushing up the divorce rate, may actually be helping families, protecting children, and paving the way for more satisfactory relationships in second marriages. Social scientists studying family life have concluded that a "clean" divorce is far healthier for children than constant bickering inside the home or an acrimonious separation. Laws which make divorce difficult to obtain and which permit one partner to stall or prevent divorce, are actually destructive of the personalities involved.

"To withhold divorce does not reunite the family," stated the New Jersey Divorce Law Study Commission Report in 1970. "Almost never does a defeated plaintiff resume cohabitation with a victorious defendant. He or she merely plans for the next round and sometimes cohabits with a partner of choice. Such is social reality."

The key to divorce reform, which is now moving across the country is the no-fault concept. A marriage is dead if the husband and wife no longer live together and there is no need to determine who was "at fault" for its demise—the likelihood is that both were. The other likelihood is that they should never have married. Eleven states will grant a divorce to either party on the ground of "irretrievable breakdown." One need only show that there is no possibility of reconciliation. These states

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are Alabama, California, Colorado, Florida, Hawaii, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, New Hampshire, North Dakota and Oregon.

Eleven states will grant divorce to either party upon proof of separation for a period ranging from one to three years. These are Arizona, Arkansas, Louisiana, Nevada, New Jersey, North Carolina, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, Washington and West Virginia. (Three other states accept separation as a ground for divorce but impose such long periods that the objective of ending the marriage with minimum acrimony is defeated. Idaho and Maryland require five years; Rhode Island requires ten.) In these states, if the couples do not come to a mutual agreement as to economic arrangements and child custody, the court will decide for them. In some states, fault may still be argued in those areas.

Five states will grant divorce upon a showing of incompatibility—this is a fault ground but is, at least, an easier one to establish than "extreme cruelty" or "adultery." These are Delaware, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma and, once again, Nevada.

Some states have altered their divorce codes but stop short of any real reform. Maryland and Wisconsin, as well as the District of Columbia, accept separation as a ground but require both parties to "consent" to the separation. That restores the ability of one spouse to obstruct divorce. Minnesota, New York, Tennessee and Utah permit divorce following separation but only after a court decree of "separate maintenance." Fault grounds are required for that initial decree.

The remaining states adhere to the old codes in which a divorce is granted only to the "innocent" partner who can prove the other "guilty" of a marital crime specified in the law. At best, testimony in such cases can be very messy and lead to permanent bad feeling; at worst, failure to win divorce in a contested case amounts to being "sentenced" to stay married as punishment for your sins. However, as the knowledge that difficult, adversarial divorce codes create problems worse than those they are meant to prevent becomes more widespread, the likelihood is that more states will move to liberalize their laws. That will increase the divorce rate —but, once again, not necessarily the number of marital breakdowns.

And along with divorce law reform, other trends will sweep the country. The emphasis, for example, on "fair economic settlement" raises many questions. In law, marriage has always been a matter of economics rather than of love. The statutes designed to hold marriages together were, one suspects, intended less to maintain moral standards than to keep mothers off the public welfare rolls. When divorce was granted, judges usually bent over backward (unless the woman were proven a jade) to protect the woman's income. Alimony in most states has been a lifetime right.

Contrary to conventional wisdom, however, it is a right that women possess more in the abstract than in the pocketbook. According to the Citizens Advisory Council on the Status of Women, most men pay alimony for a couple of years, then fall behind, then quit. Support orders, too, says the council, are more honored in the public imagination than in reality. The sad fact is that many divorcing couples haggle to support two households out of resources that were once too meager to support one. A sense of realism, as much as women's liberation, more and more accompanies divorce settlements decreed by the courts.

Judges today think twice about lifetime alimony, particularly for a young woman. There seems to be a trend —albeit a slow one—to limit both the amount and the duration of alimony. Twenty-seven states now permit alimony to be awarded to a husband if the wife is the more affluent. A New Jersey woman who was a millionaire was ordered to turn one of her millions over to her ex-husband. (He got the kids, too.) But "reverse" alimony is uncommon as yet.

Almost every state has an organization—Divorce Reform, Inc., Council on Fair Family Law, Association of Husbands, etc.—that represents the male point of view. It can range from the outrage of the male chauvinist who feels "his" woman has no right to terminate a marriage without his "permission," to the hurt of a loving father who is automatically discriminated against in matters of custody and visitation. Feminist organizations like the National Organization for Women or Women in Transition support the female cause. They demand community property laws and enforcement of support orders. They denounce discrimination against women who are heads of households in matters of employment and credit.

Diana DuBroff, a New York attorney, has founded a group called "National Organization to Insure Support Enforcement" (NOISE) to promote the idea of divorce insurance. She thinks it would be the ideal wedding gift. If a marriage founders, she says, sufficient money would be paid by the insurance company to cover legal fees and help the husband pay support. If, on the other hand, the marriage endures, the policy should be converted to life insurance or retirement benefits.

Various arguments have been advanced for developing a marriage "contract" that would include all financial arrangements. The details could be ironed out before the wedding day—and, needless to say, before the divorce proceedings. There is also a new interest in divorce counseling, which is not another term for marriage counseling. The object of marriage counseling is to keep the couple together; the object of divorce counseling is to get them through the split with a minimum of hurt ego, harassment, and damage to children. However, many reputable marriage counseling agencies now do divorce counseling as a matter of course.

And there is a debate as to whether no fault divorce laws should incorporate some mandatory counseling procedure, to make sure that the marriage is indeed as dead as the parties think. "I am concerned that the courts will just rubber-stamp divorce decrees," says Henry Foster, professor of law at New York University, and the country's foremost draftsman of divorce laws. Professor Foster feels that a mandatory counseling service would best serve the interests of children.

However, many attorneys are cool to the idea. "I would consider it an invasion of privacy if the counseling

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were mandatory," says Pennsylvania divorce attorney Peter Platten. "I would also question whether divorce-court counseling can do any good. People do not rush into divorce. By the time they get to the lawyers, the time for effective counseling is usually past."

The American Bar Association's Family Law Section adopted a "guideline" for its proposed uniform divorce code that permits a judge to "suggest" counseling. Professor Foster says that's no more than what any judge in any state can do right now.

Finally, the thrust of the Bar Association's Family Law Section is to bring uniformity to divorce codes across the country. Despite the increasing liberalization of the laws, many persons still find it necessary to pull up stakes and move to another state where divorce is possible. This complicates the issues of property, alimony, support, visitation of children and all the rest. There is a growing awareness in this country that while the family may not be crumbling any faster than it ever did, the old laws should crumble—and the faster the better. □

BOSTON'S NEW JOURNALISM

Prospects for the Alternative Press

DENNIS HALE
Mr. Hale, a free-lance writer, is the book review editor of Worldview *magazine.*

Cambridge, Mass.

In the spring of 1970, a young man named Richard Missner, son of a wealthy New England family of sugar importers, bought a dying underground newspaper in Boston called the Boston *Phoenix*. With 800 readers, no advertising revenue and a skeleton staff, the *Phoenix* was hardly an inviting receptacle for anybody's money, but Missner—who had more money than he knew what to do with—thought the paper could be brought back to life. His associate in the venture, Ray Riepin, was equally optimistic: Riepin already owned a Boston rock club and radio station WBCN, and had some notion of the money lurking out there in the counter-culture, and some practical experience in enticing it his way.

Missner, who had no newspaper experience, hired as editor Harper Barnes, a reporter from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*; Barnes, in turn, encouraged other young reporters to leave their jobs on suburban dailies and join him on the *Phoenix*. Missner rented sumptuous offices near Harvard Square in Cambridge, hired an energetic advertising manager, and the *Phoenix* was off and running.

Its only serious competition was published across the Charles River in Boston by Stephen Mindich, 29, holder of a communications degree from Boston University, and a self-described "capitalist" (and not a "hip" capitalist, either, as he is quick to point out). *Boston After Dark* (known by all as *B.A.D.*), originally an entertainment supplement to the Harvard Business School newspaper, had at the time a circulation of nearly 90,000 (more than half of it given away to college students), and was so profitable that when Mindich purchased the outstanding half of the paper in 1969, it cost him $50,000.

B.A.D. was primarily an entertainment journal, designed to serve Boston's immense student community, which had no regular source of information on movies, concerts, records and such. It also, of course, served advertisers (hence the big free circulation), who were put in touch with a large amount of money looking for some way to get spent.

The *Phoenix* intended to be something different. Barnes has said that he wanted to publish an "active rather than a reactive newspaper"—not just another entertainment rag. News, in fact, was (and is) a commodity strangely lacking in the output of Boston's regular press, represented at the time by the *Globe*, the *Record-American* and the *Herald-Traveler* (now defunct). The *Phoenix* stepped into this near vacuum and made a name for itself by doing the stories that were ignored by the straight press and TV. Its front-page stories have almost always been on local political problems, and some of them have been genuine scoops.

Charlie McCollum, a *Phoenix* reporter, claims that the measure of the paper's success was its influence on Boston's liberal paper, the *Globe*. "Investigative journalism became legitimate in this town only after the *Phoenix* started," he told me. "The *Globe* now has an investigative team, which it didn't have before, and it even allows its columnists to be a little more outspoken. [Not too much, however; the *Globe* fired its "radical" columnist, David Deitch. See *The Nation*, November 27, 1972.] Even Tom Winship, the *Globe*'s editor, admits this. For some reason, the *Globe* perceives us as a threat—not economically, of course, but journalistically."

By 1972, the *Phoenix* had a circulation of nearly 60,000. Perhaps the best indication of its return to health, however, is that soon after Missner took over at the *Phoenix*, *B.A.D.* underwent a change. The effect of competition in the newspaper business, it seems, is, as in other businesses, to produce similar rather than contrasting products. Mindich began to copy his competition's front-page layout and interior format as closely as the law would allow. *B.A.D.*'s content changed as well: it began printing more stories on political subjects, sent eager muckrakers into the community, and ran pieces by such radical journalists as Andrew Kopkind and James Ridgeway. The hawkers who had been selling the *Phoenix* on street corners now sold the nearly identical *B.A.D.* as well, and a race was on for Boston's ad revenue.

From the beginning, however, both papers suffered a plague of difficulties over editorial content and management. *B.A.D.* has gone through nearly a dozen editorial

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shifts in two years, most recently when its editor, Ted Gross, quit the paper after disagreements with Mindich. At the *Phoenix*, Missner and Riepin soon found they could not agree, and when the staff backed Missner ("because they disliked Riepin more," one of them says), Riepin allowed himself to be bought out—for $90,000.

Then there were further troubles over the *Phoenix*'s continual operating losses ($250,000 by 1972), and a succession of business and advertising managers passed through the office. Missner himself seems to have been inexperienced at business as well as journalism, and continually spent money in a futile attempt to get out of the red. His own background led to personal conflicts with his staff of radicals (he disliked "scruffy people," one of them says), and there were constant battles between the writers and the administrative staff—the perennial class distinction in radical organizations between the thinkers and the doers.

Missner wanted the paper to show a profit, but his balance sheet was not foremost in the minds of the editorial staff. One woman employed on the business end of the *Phoenix* told me that many of the reporters were, on the other hand, greatly interested in their own profits, and took home salaries not usually associated with underground journalism—$600 a month in one case. "The *Phoenix* wasn't a 'hip new scene' at all," she claims. "It was a reactionary old scene. It was a question of who could steal the paper blind." Without going that far, McCollum admits that salaries were a source of trouble: "We had a lot of people we didn't need—there were too many people in some departments, and not enough in others. Some people were grossly overpaid, and others were grossly underpaid—how much you made sort of depended on how loudly you shouted at Missner."

Another source of trouble was the advertising department, which had more staff changes than any other at the *Phoenix*. Most of the paper's money came from advertising, and some former staff members charge that not all of it ended up in the paper's bank account. Whatever the truth of this charge, ad policy and editorial policy frequently conflicted at both the *Phoenix* and *B.A.D.* (The latter nearly published an ad for the Army ROTC recently, sending it back only after a long argument between the editors and Mindich, who had sold the ad in the first place.) At both papers, muckrakers digging for scandal would from time to time unearth stories implicating present or potential advertisers, and there would follow long and acrimonious debates between business and editorial people over the paper's main responsibility. Was it to turn a profit and survive? Or was it to flay about without fear or favor? At the *Phoenix*, which was losing money steadily, these debates were more often than not resolved in favor of the advertising department, further alienating the editorial staff from their publisher.

These tensions eventually erupted into direct conflict between Missner and Barnes. In May 1972, Missner returned from his home in Vermont deeply disturbed about the paper. He thought layout and writing had become sloppy, and he was upset about the use of obscene words. He wanted to make organizational changes and he wanted to fire a couple of people. Part of the reorganization involved shifting Barnes over to a "special projects" post, and bringing in as the new editor a man whose only previous experience had been in an advertising agency.

These changes did not sit well with Barnes, who claimed Missner was trying to "sanitize" the paper and turn it into a "copy of *The Wall Street Journal*." Missner says he was only trying to "tighten up" the paper, and Bill Kovach quotes him in the July issue of *(MORE)* as saying that the staff was "in over their heads." What they needed, he felt, was more and firmer guidance from above. One employee says that Missner's big mistake was to use the term "editorial control" in explaining the changes he wanted made. "When the staff heard 'editorial control' and 'Richard Missner' in the same sentence, they went berserk."

Barnes refused to accept the new orders, and was fired on May 1. The next day thirty-eight members of the editorial staff met to discuss the firing, decided to form a union and vowed to strike for Barnes's reinstatement. On May 4, Missner relented, and rehired Barnes in time to get out the next week's issue.

At this point, Barnes says, there were signs that Missner planned to go on a firing binge. Someone discovered a classified ad in the *Boston Globe* asking for an "entire staff" for an "offset weekly tabloid." This naturally made the staff nervous, and Barnes believed that when the next issue was safely published, Missner was going to get rid of everybody and start again from scratch. To prevent this, he and several writers walked off with the flats from which the new issue was to be printed. Missner was out of town at the time, but his lawyer consented to negotiate with the saboteurs. The result was that Barnes returned the flats in exchange for the lawyer's promise that there would be no mass firings, and the issue came out on time.

But a few days later, Missner resubmitted his list of changes, including the demotion of Barnes, and the dismissal of comptroller Howard Garsh. When Barnes once again resisted these changes, he was, once again, fired. On May 16 the staff voted to go on strike, this time for control of the paper they had come to see as their own.

During the next week the foundation was laid for the final break between Missner and his employees, although there was to be a deceptive lull for two months. The strike lasted until May 22, during which time Missner attempted to bring out an issue with the help of his new editor and the few employees who did not honor the picket lines (because, one of them says, only editorial people were allowed to join the union until the last days before the strike). Hawkers, newsdealers and many advertisers supported the strike, which got violent on a couple of occasions, and nonstrikers complained to the police of harassment and assault. ("In one case legitimate," McCollum says, "I hit somebody.")

This time the strikers were demanding a complete reorganization of the paper that would prevent what they saw as the publisher's heavy-handed interference in their work. The main feature of this plan was to be the establishment of a board of directors, composed of members from management, employees and the "community" (this last part was a little vague), who would have final say on hiring, firing and general policy questions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Real Paper

Missner managed to get out his issue (it has since become something of a collector's item), but it was obvious that it would be his last unless he reached some agreement with his editors and reporters. On May 23, he agreed to a fourteen-point settlement, accepting the board of directors. Barnes reluctantly agreed to leave (as did his replacement), on the ground that relations between him and Missner were beyond repair, and Carol Eron took over as acting editor, pending a decision by the board of directors. Missner also agreed to recognize the Phoenix Employees Union; an NLRB election was duly held, where the union was accepted by a vote of 40 to 3.

On July 26, Richard Missner bowed to the inevitable, and sold the paper's name, subscription list and pending advertisements to Stephen Mindich and *Boston After Dark* for a reported $500,000. He then dissolved his corporation, giving his employees just four hours to remove their things from his office. With the competition gone, *Boston After Dark* took the final step in its two-year metamorphosis, and changed its name to *The Boston Phoenix,* using the old *Phoenix* logo, with "After Dark" added underneath, as an afterthought.

The surviving members of the *Phoenix* staff countered immediately with a new publication called *The Real Paper*—a publication in most respects identical to the old *Phoenix*—and published their first issue on August 2. Reader loyalty has brought the new paper to a fairly safe position in a relatively short time: circulation is up to 70,000, about 40,000 of it paid (the rest is given away free to college students, following Mindich's practice). *The Real Paper* is printing 40 pages per issue now, which is the size of the old *Phoenix*, though considerably smaller than the new *Phoenix*, which has run to 118 pages weekly. Ad density is a healthy 60 per cent, according to the ad manager, Robert Williams. The staff is being paid, after working for nothing during the first eight weeks, although salaries are not as high as those earned under Missner. "If we can get through the winter," McCollum says, "which is some of the slowest advertising time, we can make it. And we see no reason to believe that we can't get through the winter."

Most important, the new arrangement has removed the major source of trouble, which was disagreement between the editorial staff and the publisher. *The Real Paper*'s formal publisher, Bob Rotner, was elected by the staff, as were the editors and the heads of departments, and the publisher is no longer the source of the paper's financing. *The Real Paper* is a corporation owned entirely by its employees—thirty-three members each own one share of stock, which they received in return for their eight weeks of unpaid labor. (Future employees will be eligible to buy shares.) The paper's money comes entirely from ads, street sales and subscriptions. With scaled-down salaries, a smaller office ($160 a month as compared to the $2,800 a month suite rented by Missner), and general cost-cutting throughout the operation, the paper has managed to survive with no outside money. *The Real Paper* operates on a budget of about $10,000 a week, and Rotner says that they have already turned a profit of nearly $40,000. Eventually, if things continue to go well, the paper will move to a larger office, buy some new equipment, and distribute the rest of the profits among the staff in accordance with a profit-sharing scheme.

The biggest change, some of the staff members say, has been the new atmosphere. Paul Solmon, *The Real Paper*'s editor, says: "Having our paper shot out from under us may have been the best thing that ever happened. Coming over here and starting a new paper and running it ourselves, we've set a real precedent. Before this, 'democracy in the newsroom' has always had the clinker that one guy owns the paper, and you can't really tell people what to do with their own money. But we've gotten rid of the clinker now."

Joe Klein, another editor, says that there is a greater feeling of participation at the paper by all of its staff, where before only the paper's editors and management felt much identification with their work. "I've never felt as close to the whole process of something I've worked on. I've never been so interested in advertising and the business side of the paper. Hearing the business people say, 'It's our paper, too,' gives me a better sense of what it's all about. . . . Everybody talks about how much like a family it is here."

Not quite everybody. Two women who worked on the old *Phoenix* say that very little has changed. One of them also worked for *The Real Paper* for a few weeks, and charges that the "new" paper is run in basically the same fashion as the "old." "I was one of the few women who had any power on *The Real Paper*. I did all kinds of work, and like everyone else I worked for nothing. Well, the men would get together in the back room and plan the paper—it was just sort of assumed that it was all right to do things that way, even though we had a regular editorial board for that. Men who were not on the board would go back to those meetings and sit around with the others, and that's how the paper was done. When I objected to the publisher about one of these men in particular, he said, 'Well, we need him more than you. You can be replaced.' So I left." She went to the *Phoenix* (*B.A.D.*) and found "the same old bullshit there" and was eventually fired. She now works in a straight business concern and says she is fed up with radical politics.

There are, in fact, very few women either at *The Real Paper* or the *Phoenix* (*B.A.D.*), a fact which has prompted some angry letters from women readers. *The Real Paper* has only one regular female writer, Laura Shapiro, who does a column called "Women's Notes." Carol Eron, assistant editor at the *Phoenix* and acting editor during the absences of Harper Barnes, was the only woman in a responsible editorial position at the old

The Boston Phoenix

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Phoenix, but she has left the Boston area (for reasons not associated with the paper war), and is now an editor at *Book Week* in Washington. (Harper Barnes, by the way, is back with his old staff on *The Real Paper*, this time as a reporter.)

There are also no nonwhites on the staff. In my talk with Charlie McCollum, he mentioned that Missner had "persuaded" a black writer named Steve Kurwood to attack the staff during the strike, accusing them of racism. The implication was that this charge was simply a ploy to discredit the strikers. However, one of the former (white) employees at the *Phoenix* claims that the charge is basically accurate, "even if 'racism' is too strong a word for what happened. Kurwood simply wasn't one of Barnes's buddies, so it was very difficult for him to get anything published as a free lance. It wasn't really racism exactly, but it came to the same thing." Neither the *Phoenix* (*B.A.D.*) nor *The Real Paper* devotes much attention to the black or Spanish-speaking communities in Boston: in this sense, at least, the counter-culture is as segregated as Boston's schools.

A newspaper is the product of many different pressures and influences: it is never wholly the captive of its editors, its publisher, its advertisers or its readers. All these forces push and pull a newspaper into shape, and, if the paper survives, that shape eventually becomes familiar.

Both *The Real Paper* and the *Phoenix* are shaped, first of all, by the city in which they are published: Boston, more than any other major city, is a haven for college students and for young people on the fringe of the university community. (Nothing indicates this better than the phenomenal number of discount stereo centers.) They give to the city a cultural style that is in marked contrast to the working-class life of Dorchester and Roxbury, on the one hand, and the gentle, isolated, affluent suburban existence of Wellesley and Concord, on the other.

The audience of *The Real Paper* and the *Phoenix* lives somewhere between these two worlds—not really a part of either, its members yearn at various times to be a part of both, and this tension gives to their community, and to their two papers, a disturbing sense of irresolution. One example will suggest the nature of that tension.

The (old) *Phoenix* published on January 19, 1972, an extremely powerful article on the Soledad trial and the killing of George Jackson, written by Eric Mann, who had recently been released from prison himself, where he had been sent for his part in a militant anti-war action at Harvard. At the bottom of the first page of the article is an advertisement headlined: "Want Out of City Hassles? Try Newburyport, a harbor town just beginning restoration of historic downtown area. . . . Great location on newest St. of shops. First 7 mos. gross $10,000+. . . ." On the facing page are ads for "spiritual readings," waterbeds, Honda motorbikes and a rock album. It is a small thing, certainly, but it indicates the schizophrenic quality of the radical movement—the cohabitation of commitment and escapism.

The editors of *The Real Paper* seem to be aware of this problem. (The situation at the *Phoenix* is complicated by the fact that its publisher, Stephen Mindich, is the real power on the paper; it is difficult to know what the *Phoenix* editors feel about their work, but it is possible to guess, since one of them just quit.) They insist, for example, that they are not an "underground" newspaper, and they seem eager to avoid the escapism of the 1960s "underground" journalism. [See "The Alternative Press: Journalism as a Way of Life," by Daniel Ben-Horin, *The Nation*, February 19.] Charlie McCollum says that they call *The Real Paper* an "alternative" weekly:

> The way we see it there are four groups of papers in the country. First, there is the bad straight press, the really rotten dailies, like the New York *Daily News*. Then there are the straight papers that are better than the average, like the *Miami Herald* or the *Post-Dispatch*. Then there are the weekly papers that are alternatives to the straight press—they are usually more radical than the straight press, like *The Village Voice*, the *Great Speckled Bird*, the *Texas Observer*, the LA *Free Press*, and so on. This is the category we belong to. Basically, these papers are indefinable in a sense. There are no catch phrases for them. They're not propaganda sheets, like many of the underground papers; they cover straight news events, filling in the gaps in the straight press. They're interested in turning a profit. And then of course the fourth category is the underground press, like the Berkeley *Barb*, the *Tribe*, the *Nola Express*. Some of which are very bad. Nick von Hoffman said something about them, he said that much of the underground papers mirrors the worst aspects of the straight press, and I think he's right. So we like to call ourselves an alternative.

Yet between what editors want and what readers want there may be an impassable gap. The "radical" community is by definition a more limited population than the "public," and yet a paper that wishes to be a true "alternative" to the regular media must harbor at least the dream of speaking to a wider audience. But the tension between the two communities—the radical and the straight—is just great enough to pull a paper back from this wider audience, back to its core.

A survey of sixteen issues of the (old) *Phoenix* and *The Real Paper*, published between December 16, 1971 and November 15, 1972, reveals the nature of the problem. These issues contained 275 articles. Twenty-seven per cent were reviews of art, movies, TV and books; 20 per cent were articles on the rock scene (album reviews, personality profiles, etc.); 15 per cent were articles on local politics; 8 per cent dealt with other "counter-culture" phenomena (such as, for example, religious mystics and yogurt cones); 6 per cent covered national politics; 4 per cent reported on the anti-war movement and the war itself; 4 per cent were sports reports; 6 per cent were articles on radical movements (for prison reform, women's rights, etc.); and 10 per cent fell into a miscellaneous category (how to fix a bicycle).

The emphasis on entertainment (47 per cent of the articles published) is the price *The Real Paper* pays for its audience and the ad revenue that audience generates. Even so, I have heard people say that they do

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not read *The Real Paper* because "it is too political." (I did not do a similar survey for the new *Phoenix*, but that paper probably has an even larger concentration of nonpolitical stories, and has the reputation locally of being the less "radical" of the two papers.)

Robert Williams, *The Real Paper*'s ad manager, offers an explanation of his paper's content:

> The real reasons our paper or *B.A.D.* are essential to the lives of the people who read them are the classified ads and the listings. Around here, people move around a lot, a couple of times a year at least. Things change hands all the time. Apartments, stereos, TVs, cars, sex. There has to be a way for the things and the people to get together. Classified ads are the main reason people pay 25¢ for the paper. The second reason people read us is the listings—what to do in the city. Let's face it, Boston is one big party, with 350,000 kids looking for something to do. So the film listings, and the listings in general, are a big selling point. These things are the spine of the paper—the writers give it a competitive edge. But if neither paper had these things, we wouldn't have the revenue necessary to survive. These are the things that make the paper a necessity, not an option.

Williams credits the peculiarity of Boston's population for the survival of the two papers. "There are basically two levels of advertisers we're concerned with. The first group is people who have clubs, restaurants, concert tours, Army-Navy stores, clothing, bookstores, record stores—all the people who sell mainly to college students. These people came in right away. They really had to. They need papers like ours as much as we need them. The second level is the larger companies—GM, stereo companies, Jordan Marsh and the other big clothing stores, which don't have an immediate relation between advertising money spent and dollars earned. With these people, it's only a matter of time.

"In Boston you have 350,000 young people, under 30, within 2.5 square miles of space. You don't find a concentration like that anywhere in the country except Boston. It's a unique market. These kids spend around $40 million or $50 million a year. I mean, *B.A.D.* is 118 pages this week, and we're 48 pages to boot. That represents a whole lot of advertising. Even in a place like Berkeley or Los Angeles, where there are a lot of young people, they're all spread out. But in Boston they're all right there. I wouldn't try to run a paper like this anywhere else in the country."

So the New Journalism is not so much "new" as it is specific in its choice of audience. For the most part that audience consists of young, white, relatively affluent college students, graduates and dropouts. Like newspaper readers everywhere, these people have a set of opinions, of whose truth they are fairly certain, and they do not enjoy seeing these opinions challenged in print. At least, not too often. And the editors of "underground" and "alternative" papers are as sensitive as editors everywhere to the outer limits of their readers' tolerance. The audience for alternative papers is perhaps even sterner than usual about what they will put up with: having discovered that they constitute a "counter-culture," they are eager to see that culture defended and advanced in the music they listen to, the movies they see, the clothes they wear—and the papers they read. When their "own" newspapers seem to stray from the chosen path, they are likely to feel betrayed, and react accordingly.

Which raises an interesting question: if *The Real Paper* and the *Phoenix* (and papers like them) are "alternatives," to what, precisely, are they an alternative? To the extent that they cover local politics (i.e., to the extent that their coverage overlaps that of the established media) they are alternatives to the local dailies and the local TV news. *The Real Paper* does a good job of unearthing local political scandals (the *Phoenix* does this less well), but in a curious way its reporting is not the alternative it might be. *The Real Paper*'s writers share the prevailing assumption of newspaper reporters that dishonesty in office is the beginning and the end of the category "political news" (aside from the routine reporting of who said what about whom). So an official who uses his office for his private gain, or a legislator caught taking a bribe, or a lobbyist's hand caught in the legislative till—these are the meat of daily political reporting on the better papers. Without them the press would have almost nothing to say on the subject of politics.

This is a legacy of the muckraking tradition: find the rascals and expose their misdeeds. This attitude—which has its uses, obviously—leaves much out of the account. Why do so many public officials get involved in tawdry scandals? What is the social dimension surrounding such dishonesty? But more to the point, the muckraking tradition fails to deal with the most puzzling question of all: why do even honest politicians seem so incapable of performing their duties? Why is authority everywhere in a shambles? Why can no one govern any more? Or could they ever?

These are the "heavy" or "philosophic" questions that journalism is not supposed to deal with: an assumption shared at all levels of the business, from *The New York Times* to the Berkeley *Barb*. Admittedly, it is difficult to work the "grand themes" into a story about the housing problem; and yet somewhere along the line the attempt must be made if we are ever going to figure out what is happening to us.

Another way a radical paper can be an "alternative" is by competing with the established press for the same readers. This, it is clear, neither *The Real Paper* nor the *Phoenix* tries to do. Neither do most of the other "alternative" papers. That raises another question: can journalism help bridge the steadily growing gap between the American Left and the American public, and if so, how? How can radical journalism get into the hands and the heads of the people who are not already predisposed to it?

It is doubtful that any paper whose selected audience is the "counter-culture" can accomplish this. Perhaps the Left can talk to others only when it stops caring about what it says to and about itself. But before that happens, maybe the Left must stop seeing itself as a "culture" that is "counter" to that of Americans in general. It shouldn't be such a difficult notion to drop—there was never that much truth in it, anyway. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Reflections on Karl Kraus—Part I

ROBERT LILIENFELD
Mr. Lilienfeld lectures on sociology at the City College of New York. The following is the first portion of a two-part essay. The second part will appear in an early issue.

The American mass media, when they portray Austria, generally picture it according to certain tourist stereotypes: Viennese operettas; good scenery for spy films set in Ruritania; ski resorts; dancing the *Blue Danube* waltz as the clock strikes midnight on New Year's Eve. But what a cultural volcano Austria was in the days of its political decline, and what a hideous legacy it left the world as that volcano exploded—one hopes, for the last time! Austria gave to the world psychoanalysis, twelve-tone music, logical positivism and Adolf Hitler. The devastation wrought by these four horsemen has been immeasurable, and continues. Let those who will, worry about the world-conquering ambitions of the Kremlin, Wall Street, the Pentagon or Peking; Vienna alone is enough to make one tremble.

In the days when the Austrian Empire still ruled Central Europe, as a major force among its imperial rivals, the Hohenzollern, the Ottoman, and the Romanov Empires, few saw that it would soon disappear. The Austrian poet, dramatist, critic and satirist, Karl Kraus,* was one of the first to understand the extent of the decay. He foretold the downfall of the state by the corruption of its thought and language. He hated and satirized the intellectuals and journalists of his time, who in turn surrounded him with a wall of silence; they boycotted his name, his writings, his lectures and readings of poetry, even when he was a major force in Austrian political and cultural life. After the long catastrophe which Kraus foretold had culminated in the rise of Hitler and Stalin, the wall of silence about Kraus was virtually complete, and it persisted for some time after the passing of the thousand years. With the postwar revival of German letters, the wall has begun to crumble; his work has been resurrected in the form of a collected edition of his writings, begun in the 1950s. Today he is a hero of the European establishment; he would not have appreciated this vogue.

Little by little, Kraus has been coming to the attention of the English-speaking world. Erich Heller devoted a superb chapter to Kraus in his study of modern German literature, *The Disinherited Mind*, but the essay is not very informative about the man and his life; it is mood music of a high order, trying to convey by imagery and feeling something of the tone of his work, and in the process skating around a number of problems.

In 1967, two more books appeared: Wilma Abeles Iggers, in her *Karl Kraus, a Viennese Critic of the Twentieth Century*, offered a thoroughly documented and well-written study of major themes in Kraus's work. She does not ignore the defects and aberrations in his work, and would, I suspect, gladly appear as witness for the prosecution; but she does underrate his best work. Frank Field, in his study, *The Last Days of Mankind: Karl Kraus and his Vienna*, somehow never manages to bring Kraus himself on stage. In chronicling Kraus's increasing desperation over the moral and political decay of Central Europe, Field can't seem to understand what all the fuss was about. The result is a book that combines much useful information about Austrian politics in Kraus's lifetime with a somewhat limited use of the historical imagination.

In the same year, Max Spalter's excellent *Brecht's Tradition* appeared, offering not only a chapter on Kraus but also a translation of a scene from one of his dramas. But there Kraus is treated in passing, in terms of his influence on Brecht. That is certainly important, but Kraus merits study in his own right.

In 1969, the journal *Salmagundi* devoted its Fall issue to a collection of essays edited by Robert Boyers: "The Legacy of the German Refugee Intellectuals" (since published in book form by Schocken), which contains a brilliant piece by Thomas W. Simons, "After Karl Kraus." Like Heller's essay, it is a tone poem which refuses to look at all sides of Kraus's work, and in so doing falsifies the picture slightly. Mr. Simons ends in a cloud of mystification, hinting that only he understands Karl Kraus; despite this his essay is a superior piece of work.

The latest study to appear, *Karl Kraus* (1971), by Prof. Harry Zohn of Brandeis University, is solid, useful, sane, and like Frank Field's and Wilma Iggers' works, essential for anyone wanting to know more of Kraus. Zohn offers a biographical study, places Kraus's works within the context of his life, and succeeds in giving some sense of the man, his time and place.

Karl Kraus was born in Bohemia in 1874, of well-to-do Jewish parents. His family moved to Vienna in 1877. Professor Zohn says: "Here was a family constellation that was typical at the turn of the century: the sons of Central European Jewish businessmen—often self-made men, strong and self-willed, heads of patriarchically organized families—turned to literature. Cases in point are Franz Kafka, Stefan Zweig, Siegfried Trebitsch, Felix Salten and Franz Werfel. Karl Kraus differed from these in that his father, though not oriented toward literature, did not disapprove of his son's early thespian and literary pursuits, and did not attempt to put any impediments in his path."

Kraus was interested in the theatre from childhood on, and after a perfunctory stretch at the University of Vienna as a law student, attempted a career as an actor. He was not successful; his physical appearance—apparently he was slight and had curvature of the spine—limited the roles he could play. He then turned to journalism, and for a time hoped to replace the aging Daniel Spitzer, of the *Neue Freie Presse*, much admired for his witty columns. After Spitzer's death in 1893, Kraus did contribute to that paper—*The New York*

* Space limitations prevent detailed footnoting throughout this article. I wish therefore to indicate here my heavy reliance upon the following sources: Frank Field, *The Last Days of Mankind: Karl Kraus and His Vienna* (London and New York, St. Martin's Press, 1967); Erich Heller, *The Disinherited Mind* (New York, Meridian Books, 1959); Wilma Abeles Iggers, *Karl Kraus, a Viennese Critic of the Twentieth Century* (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1967); Caroline Kohn, *Karl Kraus, le polémiste et l'écrivain, défenseur des droits de l'individu* (Paris, Marcel Didier, 1962); Thomas W. Simons, Jr., "After Karl Kraus," in Robert Boyers' *The Legacy of the German Refugee Intellectuals* (New York, Schocken Books, 1972); Max Spalter, *Brecht's Tradition* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1967); Harry Zohn, *Karl Kraus* (Twayne's World Authors Series, No. 116; New York, Twayne, 1971). In addition, I have drawn materials from Volumes III, IV, V, VIII and IX of the collected works of Kraus, now appearing under the editorship of Heinrich Fischer (Munich, Kösel-Verlag).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Times of its era and its place—until about 1896. He then briefly edited a Viennese weekly. When Moritz Benedikt, co-owner and editor in chief of the *Neue Freie Presse*, learned that Kraus was planning to found his own journal, he offered him a post which Kraus refused. His inside knowledge of journalism had turned him against it, and he dedicated himself to war on the press and journalism of his own day.

On April 1, 1899, Kraus launched his own magazine, *Die Fackel* (*The Torch*), which was a sensation from the moment of its appearance. The first issue had to be reprinted to meet the demand. The journal ran for 922 issues, until Kraus's death in 1936. Its early contributors included Peter Altenberg, Oskar Kokoschka, Elsa Lasker-Schuler, Adolf Loos, Heinrich Mann, Arnold Schoenberg, August Strindberg, Frank Wedekind and Oscar Wilde. After 1911, Kraus was the sole contributor ("I no longer have collaborators . . . they repel those readers whom I want to lose myself"), partly because it grew to be too costly to pay writers of that caliber, and also because personal intrigues, quarrels and jealousies among the personalities associated with Kraus clouded the atmosphere for him, and blunted his intentions. Thus Kraus became a one-man army of satire, moral indignation, political commentary, lyric poetry and polemic. He devoted himself to the uncovering of the cultural and moral corruption of his time. His isolation was almost complete.

Die Fackel appeared irregularly, sometimes a pamphlet of only a few pages, at other times book-length in size. Its appearance was always a major event in Vienna; no journalist, politician, intellectual or public figure knew whether he might not be subjected next to Kraus's merciless satirical dissection. The sum total of *Die Fackel* constitutes an enormous body of work; much of what appeared therein was advance material for Kraus's books, which include seven volumes of essays, six plays, nine volumes of poetry, four of aphorisms and epigrams, plus his translations of Shakespeare's sonnets and of a number of the plays, and his adaptations of the librettos of many of Offenbach's operettas. There is much in this output: hilarious wit, the greatest satire since Swift, great (though uneven) lyric poetry, first-rate aphorisms, wearisome polemics against figures now forgotten, and a magnificent prose style which is the challenge and despair of translators. Some critics feel that his work is too closely bound to his vanished world to survive; Kraus said otherwise, that as his writing went out of date and became detached from the specific events of Austrian politics and culture, its timeliness would emerge.

Much of Kraus's work was related to his personal life, and personal themes permeate his poetry and many pages of *Die Fackel*. Thus the major romances of his life (he never married) were connected with his unique position as a lonely satirist. His first serious love affair, with the young actress Annie Kalmar, ended when she died of tuberculosis. A libelous attack on the deceased young woman in the Viennese press was motivated by her connection with Kraus, and it generated a long and sensational lawsuit brought by her mother. Aside from his personal pain, the attack awakened Kraus to the false standards of sexual morality which became one of the important themes of his early writings. He protested the hypocrisy of Austrian society, which condemned by day what it enjoyed by night, and which had declared open season on women. The prosecution of prostitutes and the detailed reporting of their trials in the press revolted him. Morality, he said, was a disease which progressed in three stages: virtue—boredom—syphilis. Echoing Oscar Wilde, he observed that if human nature is squeezed into the strait jacket of criminal justice, crime will emerge; the more punishment, the more crime.

Feminist movements were active during Kraus's younger years; much of what he had to say anticipates current discussions of women's liberation and of sexual behavior in general—but would not endear him to feminists. And yet it strikes curiously home. He demanded the maximum of sexual freedom for the individual, opposed marriages in which social and financial considerations prevailed over all others, advocated easier divorce for women, and the right of abortion. But following Otto Weininger's celebrated views on sex and character, he considered men and women far from identical. Man lives by his mind and imagination, but his senses and feelings are impoverished; woman is aesthetic and sensuous, but her intellect is feeble and her sense of responsibility nonexistent. Woman should rarely write; intellectuality renders her repulsive, and her struggles for political and social equality with men produce perversion; emancipated woman proves her perversion by her affinity for dishonest journalism. Feminists should struggle to give women freedom of choice in sexual matters. Political and social matters are secondary, and even of no interest to healthy women.

Kraus's second important love affair was with the Baroness Sidonie Nadherny, to whom he proposed marriage on several occasions. She considered the matter seriously, and turned to the poet Rilke, whom she admired and trusted, for advice. Rilke, in a scurrilous letter, dissuaded her by innuendos and indirect allusions to Kraus's background, which could never approximate hers. Both lived to regret the decision. Sidonie married someone else, divorced him almost immediately, and resumed her relationship with Kraus. She appeared at his funeral in Vienna to throw a ring into the opened grave. Sidonie fled Czechoslovakia after the Communists took power in 1948, and died in London in 1950. The voluminous correspondence between the two, thought to have been lost, was recently discovered and is scheduled to be published. Sidonie, like Annie Kalmar, figured largely in Kraus's writings.

Except for a small circle of devoted friends, Kraus's life was lonely and aloof. He slept days, frequented a few coffeehouses in the evenings, and night after night devoted himself to reading and writing.

But Kraus was not only a writer. His early love of theatre came to the surface in a new activity, his "Theatre of Poetry," in which he read and performed his own and countless other works. More than 700 such programs were presented, primarily in Vienna, but also throughout Austria, Germany, Central Europe and in France. These became major events in the cultural life of his time, and served to express some of his deepest feelings about the nature of theatre, poetry and audiences. Repelled by the grandiose theatrical spectacles of his time, presented by producers like Max Reinhardt and Erwin Piscator, he opposed to them—himself, one man seated at a table, able to evoke more poetic and dramatic life than productions involving hundreds of persons. There are many eyewitness descriptions of Kraus's readings. Erich Heller's words are typical:

> What his spellbound audiences witnessed was not an impersonation of different characters. He neither moved about the stage nor changed his voice in the manner of a ventriloquist. Yet the scene was alive with a multitude of voices, and full of genuine dramatic tension. It was as though the gulf had been bridged between the dramatic imagination of the poet and the inevitable inadequacies of the "real life" of his figures on a real stage. Karl Kraus took his listeners to the very center of poetic creation. . . . His theatre bestowed upon dramatic poetry the privilege which any competently performed piece of music enjoys: the directness of communication, the freedom from interference by the unwieldiness of matter.

ETSU LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kraus had given one public reading early in his career (1892), and no more until 1910. Beginning with World War I, Kraus turned over to charities the proceeds of his recitals, mostly for the benefit of war victims, but also often to aid artists in need; over the years, this amounted to a large fortune.

The wall of silence about Kraus extended to his recitals as well. In Harry Zohn's words:

> It is not surprising that even though Kraus's recitals were enjoyed by many thousands, not a word about them appeared in the Austrian press; announcements in the *Fackel* and on posters generally sufficed to bring in capacity audiences. Because the press was feared, in the early years certain Viennese halls, such as the acoustically perfect Bösendorfersaal and the auditorium of the Urania, were not available to Kraus, but the great success of these evenings eventually opened all halls to him.

These readings were important; Kraus discovered a number of talented writers, and by reading their works, fostered their careers. His readings of older and relatively forgotten German poets helped rescue them from obscurity. One of the major talents supported by Kraus, and influenced by his writings, was that of Bertolt Brecht; his readings of poems and scenes by Brecht in January 1932 were accompanied at the piano by Kurt Weill. Worth mentioning also were his readings and recitals of works by Nestroy and Offenbach; in addition, Kraus's own versions of Shakespeare's sonnets were prompted in part by his dislike for the translation by Stefan George who, Kraus said, had done violence to two languages. In preparing his recitals of Offenbach, whom Kraus regarded as of the first rank, he did valuable scholarly work in establishing the most authentic versions, and tracking down the dates of first performances. His adaptations were performed on the Berlin radio, and his version of *La Périchole* was performed by the Berlin State Opera. To the satirical stanzas of Offenbach, Kraus added his own, as medium of commentary; only the world of operetta was lunatic enough to approximate the real world. His theatre of poetry readings continued virtually to the end of his life. His readings in France prompted a number of distinguished French intellectuals to propose Kraus for the Nobel Prize both for peace and for literature. Nominated three times, he never received the award.

Kraus's writings for his own journal, and his one-man readings in his one-man theatre of poetry, were all of a piece: in both these enterprises a single man opposed the alliance of journalism, literati and cynical politicians preparing a witches' brew that would end European civilization.

Much of Kraus's polemics, and the figures they were directed against, have been forgotten. He waged warfare against local politicians and judges, against the falsification of issues then current in the Austrian press, against the deals between newspapers and interest groups, and against the inflated literary reputations of men now deservedly obscure. The manufacture and destruction of artistic reputations through the machinery of publicity was, for Kraus, but one sign of the breakdown of culture. His campaigns against figures like Hermann Bahr and Maximilien Harden echoed through the pages of contemporary journals as do the squabbles of New York's literati today. What gives Kraus's polemics their interest, however, aside from the brilliance of his attacks (and sometimes their cruelty), is the importance of the themes that emerged. Kraus felt that the publicity machinery manned by journalist-intellectuals could destroy civilization, and his elaboration of this idea throughout his polemics and satires gave him great prophetic power. He wrote "The Destruction of the World by Black Magic," an essay on the power of manufactured culture to destroy all culture, to corrupt souls, and finally to destroy in men's minds any accurate image of the realities about them, or any sense of their ethical meaning. The "black magic" was, simply, printer's ink. Thus he denounced the alliance between the *Neue Freie Presse* and the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs with its warlike Serbian policies. He foretold the Balkan catastrophe and lent his support to Serbian patriots.

Along with these larger political themes one finds a great number of local battles: against police abuses; against deplorable prison conditions; against pharmaceutical price-fixing; against the misery of civil servants crushed by a usurious credit union; against the exploitation of young restaurant workers; against the harshness of the Austrian penal code; against the double standard for women, enforced by the press—journalists who sold their intellects persecuted women who sold their embraces, a much lesser offense ("Prostitution shares with journalism the power to suppress one's feelings, but at least presupposes the ability to have feelings").

Such themes are perhaps of ephemeral interest; but for Kraus even the most casual events foretold disaster. The celebrated triumphs of technology, the exploration of the North Pole, the sloganization of society, all terrified him. When the European world view seemed most self-assured, Kraus warned that the barometer was set for "storm." "Progress celebrates Pyrrhic victories over nature," he wrote in 1912, "and makes purses out of human skin."

When World War I broke out, observers were optimistic. The war would not last long; the masses were enthusiastic; the literati hailed those who marched off to war and glory; but *Die Fackel* did not appear. The horror of events had silenced Kraus. While orators were spouting speeches about the great time in which they lived, and newspapers echoed them, Kraus maintained his silence until November of 1914, when he delivered a speech which was later printed in *Die Fackel*:

> In this great time, which I knew when it was just a little time, and which will become little again, if it is given time; and which, since in the realm of organic growth no such transformation is possible—we might call a fat time and a heavy time as well; in this time, in which things happen which could not be imagined, and in which that which can no longer be imagined must happen—for if it could be imagined it could not happen—in this serious time which died laughing at the thought that it might become serious; which, surprised by its own tragedy, reaches for diversion, and, catching itself red-handed, gropes for words; in this loud time, which roars with the frightful symphony of deeds which produce newspaper reports and newspaper reports which commit deeds; in this time you may expect no word of mine from me—none but these words, to preserve silence from misunderstanding. Respect for the immutable, awe before the subordination of language to misfortune, is too deeply rooted in me. In the realm of poverty of imagination, where the soul dies of starvation without feeling hunger, where pens are dipped in blood and swords are dipped in ink . . . expect no word of mine from me.

The age would be condemned out of its own mouth, pinned down within quotation marks. Hating the Habsburgs and the Hohenzollerns, Kraus devoted his energies to a polemic against the war and against the Central Powers, openly hoping for their defeat. Out of this determination to show the age that it was doomed came one of the greatest works of literature in recent times: Kraus's drama, *The Last Days of Mankind*. This gigantic work, as Kraus said, is not meant to be acted, at least not on earth, where it would take perhaps ten nights to perform. A theatre on Mars would be more appropriate. On

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

earth it would be unbearable for the spectators, composed as it is of their blood, words and deeds. There is no plot, and there are no leading characters; what goes on is, for the most part, what Kraus saw and heard in Central Europe, and what was printed in the newspapers, punctuated by the comments of Kraus himself, written in the form of dialogues between two characters: the Optimist and the Grumbler, who walk through the drama like a chorus. It is a huge pageant of scenes, some of them short, one-line "blackouts" in cabaret style. Moments of cheerful chatter in coffeehouses are juxtaposed with scenes of death agonies at the front. A scene of the Pope asking for an end to the slaughter is juxtaposed with a scene of a newspaper-owner dictating a bellicose editorial. A father consoles his starving child with the news that the enemy is starving too. Sadistic, career-minded officers maltreat their troops, clergymen bless the cannon, poems of Goethe are transformed into war jingles, the literati write martial verse to order, hyenas with human faces strip corpses of anything salable, the Kaiser clowns, and half-starved children are blown up by mines while searching for food.

As the situation deteriorates for the Central Powers, the chaotic tempo quickens, and the drama becomes more and more surrealistic; the last scenes include a dance on a volcano, choruses of male and female gas masks, of the children drowned on the *Lusitania*, of an unborn child begging not to be born, all wiped out at last by a wall of flames over the horizon. Voices from above exclaim at the storm, and at the destruction of God's image and likeness. After a great silence, God speaks, and to him Kraus gives the words attributed to the old Austrian emperor: *Ich habe es nicht gewollt* (This was not my will).

In this work, Kraus's mastery of language places him in the front rank of literature. He reproduces perfectly every tone and inflection—the empty rhetoric of political speeches, bureaucratic gobbledygook, the street slang of Vienna, the speech of simple persons crushed by the war. Characters are stripped and revealed by their speech. This side of Kraus's work will probably remain inaccessible to Americans; it would require a great mastery of two languages to accomplish a translation. But aside from its linguistic and apocalyptic sweep, there are many sentences and passages from the work of astonishing foresight and power:

> The world is going under, and no one will know it. Forgotten will be all that happened yesterday; what happens today will not be noticed; and no one will fear what is due tomorrow. It will be forgotten that the war was lost, it will be forgotten that the war was started, it will be forgotten that the war was conducted. For that reason, the war will never stop.

Only after the soldiers returned, he predicted, would the real struggle begin. The war, like no other war, had eaten into the fabric of society in such a way that it might never recover. □

Building the New Jerusalem

THE WORLD TURNED UPSIDE DOWN: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution. *By Christopher Hill. The Viking Press. 352 pp. $10.95.*

CHARLES BAZERMAN
Mr. Bazerman teaches English at Baruch College, the City University of New York. His specialty is the English Renaissance.

The Puritan Revolution was a complex time when men were moved by many impulses. In history the most visible features are usually the ones most studied; the domain of this book is the less visible poor who found their voice in radical sects. The ideas and utterances of these sects are usually regarded either as the rantings of the ignorant or the advance rumblings of modern Socialist revolutions. But Christopher Hill takes seriously the words of the Ranters, Seekers and True Levellers as the articulated insights and desires of a previously mute and subservient class. This interesting study describes the conditions that allowed the poor to acquire a voice, how they used that voice, and what they had to say.

During the century preceding the revolution, cutbacks in the lordly households, the enclosure of common lands, and disafforestation, forced many of the poor to lead masterless lives; the paid army and the marginal employments offered by the expanding mercantile class allowed numbers of them to eke out a livelihood in or near the cities. They generally were discontented and disaffected from the social order. When the mercantile Puritans achieved their revolution, change was in the air and the world seemed to have been turned upside down. Censorship was temporarily lifted, toleration was encouraged, millennial hopes were openly proclaimed. The poor also thought that their time had come, and they started to say what was on their minds.

As was to be expected, what they had to say was mostly complaints. They said the system was stacked against them. After a number of years of free discussion, their complaints sometimes became radical critiques of their society. The first complaint was economic—that the means of life were in a few hands, kept there by the traditional forms of land tenure and the practice of enclosure. The Levellers were within the constitutional framework of the revolution; basically capitalist, they believed in private property. This book deals particularly with the case of the more communist True Levellers, as exemplified by the Diggers. Their commune on St. George's Hill became the center of influence for a much wider movement, speaking "for those whom the 'constitutional' Levellers would have disenfranchised—servants, labourers, paupers, the economically unfree." The writings of Gerrard Winstanley, the sect's leader and spokesman, examine the relationship between religions that emphasize the afterlife, sin, hierarchy and obedience, and an economically regressive system. Winstanley's critique led him to the heresy that paradise can be achieved here on earth.

The chapter "Sin and Hell" is at the core of the book. Here Hill traces the consequences of the notions of sin on 16th- and 17th-century England, and the manner in which the fall was mobilized for the sake of repressive causes. The most radical thinkers of the revolution, although operating within a clearly theological framework, were led to deny more and more of the foundations of religious belief. Religious despair and suicide were common; the most daring abolished hell and even God.

Such liberating ideas encouraged many to act upon their desires. The Ranter rank and file equated the abolition of sin with drunkenness and debauchery. The rise and repression of this sect reads like a mob scene in a Shakespearean play; men of mixed motives, finding notions to their liking and making the most of them, quickly recant under the first pressure. Other sects acted with more conviction and suffered the consequences. And the Quakers, when the times grew more difficult, separated themselves from their more libertine wing and expunged part of their history.

A number of Hill's chapters discuss topics which ought to be of interest to proponents of modern causes. "John

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Warr and the Law" reveals that a radical critique of the law was formulated in 1649; "Base Impudent Kisses" has some early material on sexual revolution, the reformation of marriage and women's liberation; "Life Against Death" makes the 1650s case against the Protestant work ethic.

While eschewing major theoretical claims or astounding comparisons, the book is lucid and lively. Hill is thoroughly familiar with the period and all the primary sources, and he organizes and presents his materials well. We are left with the impression of a people confronting the conditions of their lives, seeking a more rational way of life. We see this laudable human impulse with its limitations, confusions and misapplications. When the world seems upside down, the oppressed find the chance to set their own affairs right side up. □

Brazil Since Joao Goulart

A GRAIN OF MUSTARD SEED: The Awakening of the Brazilian Revolution. *By Marcio Moreira Alves. Doubleday/ Anchor Press. 200 pp. Paper $1.95.*

E. BRADFORD BURNS
Mr. Burns, professor of Latin American history at UCLA, has traveled extensively in Brazil during the past twelve years. He has written five books on that country, of which the most recent are Nationalism in Brazil *(Praeger) and* A History of Brazil *(Columbia University Press).*

Brazil plunged from democracy to dictatorship during the decade of the 1960s. Frightened by the democratic and Populist government of President João Goulart, which challenged their entrenched interests, the elites and middle class summoned the military to restore their control over the government. In the process, the military eradicated every trace of liberty and substituted the most brutal authoritarianism Brazil has ever endured. In this short and lively book, Marcio Moreira Alves, a former journalist and Congressman, provides a personal view of the tragedy which befell his country, the world's fifth largest and seventh most populous.

Like many other members of his privileged class, Alves welcomed the initial military intervention on March 31, 1964. But to the surprise of nearly everyone, the military did not return the government to civilians as it had many times in the past. Contrary to all precedent, it settled in to govern in its own name. As the military government became increasingly repressive, the beneficiaries of its rule diminished in number. This book traces Alves' growing disillusion with the regime of the generals. The brutality and short-sightedness of the government eventually radicalized Alves, and the process of his radicalization makes fascinating reading. Clearly he suffered problems common to many Latin American intellectuals: a disinclination to identify himself with his own class and an inability to do so with the oppressed masses. The Cuban novelist Edmundo Desnoes brilliantly discusses that theme in his partially autobiographical novel, *Memories of Underdevelopment.*

Alves accuses the United States of intimate involvement with the military government. Indeed, the presence of the United States is overwhelming in Brazil. The author ironically notes that the U.S. Embassy staff at one point exceeded in numbers the civil service officialdom maintained by the British in all of India prior to that country's independence. Further, after 1964, the U.S. military maintained in Brazil its third largest mission abroad. (Vietnam was first.) Washington has generously supplied the dictatorship with aid exceeding $1.6 billion. The United States funneled more military assistance into Brazil than into any other country in this hemisphere. Millions of U.S. dollars went into a "public safety" program to train the police in a country where there are at least 10,000 political prisoners.

Alves focuses considerable attention on the violence of the military regime, particularly its recourse to torture. The documentation of the torture of political prisoners, collected by such reputable groups as the United States Catholic Conference, the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops, the Vatican, the World Federation of Trade Unions, etc., has become too copious, detailed and impressive for even the military government to ignore or repudiate. Significantly, the dictatorship refuses to admit into Brazil the Human Rights Commission of the Organization of American States to investigate the charges of torture.

Alves ridicules the dictatorship's claim that it wrought an "economic miracle." Rather, he discloses, the privileged have filled their coffers. Brazil, the most industrialized nation of Latin America, has the dubious distinction of having the lowest average industrial wages. Since 1964, wages consistently have fallen behind prices. The "economic miracle" mercilessly squeezes the poor. In the decade of the 1960s, the poorest 80 per cent of the population saw their share of the GNP slip from 35 to 27.5 per cent, while the richest 5 per cent increased their share from 44 to 50 per cent.

It is not just the local elites who are benefiting from military dictatorship. Foreign investors wax wealthy too. According to USAID, "during the sixties income remitted to the U.S. from Brazil exceeded capital outflow from the U.S. every year but three." In other words, Brazil exports capital to the United States.

According to the author, the interlocking interests of the Brazilian elites with those of international finance are one strong buttress of the Brazilian Government. He looks forward to a day when the Brazilian people will assert their independence, but for the moment his optimism seems valiant but unrealistic. His book certainly will give readers in this country a valuable perspective on the current situation in Latin America's most important nation. □

What to Do with the Old Folks

DEATH AS A FACT OF LIFE. *By David Hendin. W. W. Norton & Co. 255 pp. $7.50.*

NOBODY EVER DIED OF OLD AGE. *By Sharon R. Curtin. Atlantic-Little, Brown. 228 pp. $6.95.*

LEONARD C. LEWIN
Mr. Lewin is the author of Report from Iron Mountain, *and* Triage, *a fiction about institutional killing (both Dial Press).*

Old age, dying and death are coming out of the closet. Even before Simone de Beauvoir's comprehensive *La Vieillesse* became a best-seller in France, articles began to appear in a surprising variety of publications, dealing with problems of the aged and of their survivors, with nursing-home inhumanity and racketeering, with euthanasia. Even television, the general opiate of our times, has opened the closet door on occasion, notably with Arthur Barron's moving 1968 documentary about a terminal cancer patient. In one recent week

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

alone I have seen stories about dying in three mass-circulation magazines, and this is not at all exceptional any more. The way publishers follow trends, one might think concern with death were something recently "discovered," like air pollution or ecology.

Why the media interest at this time? I have no answer, but I suppose it bears some relation to the slaughter in Vietnam. Re-examination of previously accepted values and practices, disillusionment with institutional solutions to social problems, and all that. Putting aside the jargon, might it reflect, underneath the frustrating political debate, some increasing public concern with the basic human condition? I hope so. In any case, as more and more public discussion takes place about what it is like to get old, to die, to meet the problems of the dying on their own terms, to face the truth about one's own attitudes to them and to one's own mortality, that closet door can never be closed again. Concern with death, once acknowledged, has a constituency of 100 per cent and, unlike other concerns, does not diminish with age.

Death is not a subject one would expect to attract a hack writer. (Yet even as I write this I can see before me next year's instant wisdom that the commercial success of books like these two can stimulate: the die-happy equivalent of how to be "O.K.," how to be "free," how to understand life through positive thinking, Eastern mysticism, peyote and organic foods.) Still, at any level it is impossible to examine how the aged and dying are generally treated in our society without responding to the inhumanity. David Hendin and Sharon Curtin do not disappoint us; both have written serious, useful and occasionally inspiring books that should have wide circulation and influence.

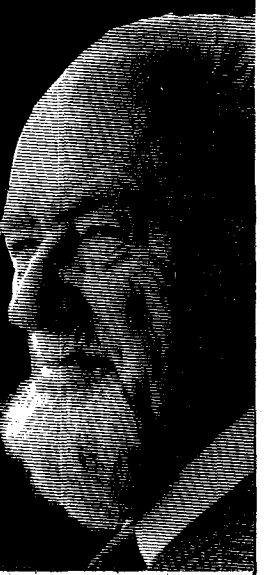
Death as a Fact of Life is a straightforward job of science writing for the layman. Mr. Hendin's first three chapters deal with the physical criteria of death, a more ambiguous question than it should be; transplants, the standards for which must in turn depend on acceptance of such criteria; and euthanasia, which raises the great moral issue of the *right* to die and the difficult practical questions of when an unconscious dying person should be "let go," who decides, and why. Except for his overcautious obeisance to conventional religious sensibilities, Hendin provides an excellent review of what most of us need to know, to start with, to establish our own attitudes toward these matters, as we must, sooner or later. His discussion of euthanasia does not extend to deliberate killing as a matter of social policy, but the logical implication is inescapable, and this question too may be upon us sooner than we like.

Most of the remainder of the book concerns the treatment of the dying. Although Hendin does well here also, notably with the burgeoning field of "thanatology" and with the pioneering work of Dr. Elizabeth Kübler-Ross, I believe he lets off the medical profession far too lightly. That physicians and hospital personnel should exercise, and abuse, almost unlimited power over the final, potentially most fulfilling period of a person's life is in itself enough to disqualify our society's claim to being civilized; yet they may well point out, with justice, that they have had the job dumped on them. And why should they, as a group, be particularly equipped to handle it? Familiarity is not enough, even though physicians may show understanding, sensitivity, and respect for the process of dying more often than others. But so long as the seriously ill, dying or not, are routinely treated as infants, idiots, administrative inconveniences and worse, the indictment holds.

Hendin deals cautiously with cryonics, the practice of deep-freezing a fresh corpse for possible resuscitation at some distant date when the proximate cause

At last . . .
the predictably blunt autobiography
of the dean of American controversy:

PERSONAL AND
CONTROVERSIAL
PAUL BLANSHARD



From pulpit to jail to chief graft investigator for Mayor La Guardia . . . from the storm provoked by his challenging book *American Freedom and Catholic Power* . . . from the utter frankness with which he recalls his adventurous life and the famous people it touched . . . Blanshard's 13th book generates new storms with new challenges to the structure of religion, politics, and conventional sexual attitudes.

Kirkus Reviews says it's a "well lived life well told." *Publishers Weekly* calls it an "extremely frank autobiography," and *Library Journal*, "fascinating reading . . . maybe . . . one of the last specimens of pamphleteering at its best."

$7.95 at your bookstore

BEACON PRESS Boston 02108

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of death may be curable. Although currently available evidence suggests that it won't work, this is by no means certain, just as the absolute inevitability of physical death itself may be reasonably questioned at some time in the future. It's hard to understand why a few relatively simple experiments cannot be performed right now. For example, surely *some* person who knows he is soon to die, but whose consciousness is unimpaired, would be willing to be put into a deep freeze, under optimal conditions, *before* his vital functions are irreversibly destroyed—with the knowledge that he will be thawed out in a year. At best, he *may* be partially revived, however temporarily; at worst, what will he have lost? *Something* will be learned, and with his full consent, which is much more than can be said of the atrocities being performed on unwitting subjects of lesser experiments every day. I'm surprised, incidentally, that Hendin makes no reference to Alan Harrington's speculations in this area in that curious book, *The Immortalist*, which may have appeared a few years ahead of its time.

Nobody Ever Died of Old Age is something else: a polemic. Growing up in a small town with a full complement of quirky, independent, long-lived grandparents, Sharon Curtin was exposed to the problems and glories of old age to a degree that is becoming rare in a society as much committed to obsolescence in people as in machines. Later, for reasons of her own, she deliberately sought out the aged and the dying—whether in the place she happened to be living, in fleabag hotels, in "retirement communities," in remote villages, or in hospitals (where she worked with them as a nurse). She is in her early 30s.

But what a polemic! Outrage, compassion, grief, and fury fly off every page. Yet the intensity of her emotional involvement, which never flags, remains under the control of a lean, disciplined prose style, vivid and clear-eyed, moving and memorable. It is a remarkable achievement.

Summary, in dealing with a book of this kind, cannot do it justice. I will simply say that it is "about" what it is like to be old in America in our times; to be abandoned, to be dependent, to be condescended to, to be treated as obstructions in the orderly lives of others, to be ignored, to be robbed of one's dignity. It is full of people, all old, who have adapted, in widely differing ways, to the ways of living that have been forced upon them, and they are all very much alive.

I started marking passages to quote, but I gave up; there are too many. This is from the summing-up on the next-to-last page:

> . . . Our culture does not have a concept of the whole of life. . . . Instead of a cycle, a vision of unity, we have a vision of stages, in which only one—adulthood—has the possibility of being lived productively, independently, and vigorously. Old age is viewed as a child-like state, but without the charm and promise. It is as if we wanted to finally view our lives as totally devoid of meaning, where the dependency and childishness of old age wipe out the accomplishments of adulthood. The experiences of a lifetime disappear in the feeling of being useless and passed by. . . . Avoiding looking at the entire life cycle, pretending that death doesn't exist, or is somehow in bad taste, robs the old of the chance to complete their life. It denies that death has any meaning . . . and leaves only a sense of despair.

There are said to be modern societies that are truly civilized and humane in their treatment of the old. In Scandinavia, for example? In China, traditionally? Elsewhere? If her publisher would send Ms. Curtin to find out, she is the witness I would credit. Until then, here in America, I hope this book can be read by everyone who has, or may have, any concern for some one who is, or may become, old or dying, including himself. □

FILMS

ROBERT HATCH

The Hungarian Karoly Makk shares with the late Japanese director, Ozu, the understanding that a drama of absorbing and enduring interest can be composed from a microcosm of human relationship. It is an insight too often drowned out by the competitive sensationalism of popular entertainment. Makk's *Love* is not about biology or politics, adventure or popularity; it investigates no exotic trades and transports the viewer to no extreme environments. It is about people dealing with one another.

As with Ozu, Makk's plot is utterly simple; indeed, commonplace. A woman (the celebrated actress, Lili Darvas) is living out the last months of her very old age in a house on the outskirts of Budapest. Her daughter-in-law (Mari Torocsik), whose husband has been jailed for political activity, sweetens the old woman's ebbing life with small comforts and the very large fiction that her son has gone to America for the triumphant opening of his film. The details of the American myth are extravagant, but in her youth the mother had been—one learns from the sensitive use of almost subliminal flashbacks as the ancient mind touches fragments of distant years—an aristocrat of great beauty, wit and position. To her, the fabulous honors and deference enjoyed by her son are the normal expectations of his heritage.

The excitement, the tension of the film develops from the interplay between the two women. For the younger one is no martyr to her mother-in-law. True, she provides small pleasures at considerable cost to herself, since she also is being made to suffer for her husband's "errors"; but at the same time she scoffs at the old woman, contradicts her, bullies her—partly from vexation at the situation, partly from admiration of a mettle, now fragile and flickering, that is never to be insulted by coddling.

In terms of direction and acting, *Love* is elegantly balanced, it being impossible to say which of the principals, Darvas or Torocsik, is the more powerfully projective. In a sense, that is a tribute to the latter because, like so many fine actresses who carry their beauty and habit of command into their later years, Lili Darvas, even lying in a bed and assuming somnolence, could eclipse a performer of only average presence.

The fine temper of *Love* is evident in its small touches. Coming home from prison, the husband (Ivan Darvas) hails a cab and asks the driver to stop at a tobacconist. As they approach the shop, the cabbie asks what cigarettes his fare wants and jumps out to run the errand. From my experience of cab drivers, that seemed unprecedented, but as this one hands over the pack, he asks, "Political?," and I realized that a man of tact had paid his respects. There are many such oblique forms of communication, often illuminated by the above-mentioned flicks of memory.

I wonder a bit at the film's happy ending. No doubt Communist bureaucracies pardon people as arbitrarily, if not as frequently, as they jail them, and I was glad to see the couple reunited. But for me the quiet joy of the conclusion broke the picture's emotional integrity; I felt "let off." It may be that Makk had to pay that much of a fee to Hungarian ideology, which, otherwise, permitted him a surprising freedom.

French friends tell me that, in Truffaut's *Such a Gorgeous Kid Like Me*, the dialogue (in effect, the almost uninterrupted monologue) provided for Bernadette Lafont is a grammarian's despair, a moralist's affront and for an audience attuned to inventive scatology elevated to deadpan lyricism a constant delight. That being so, it was a dubious venture

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to bring the film to America, where Mlle. Lafont's scatterbrained delivery of the eloquently unspeakable must necessarily fall on deaf ears.

For in visual terms (and even with the help of unenterprising subtitles) the picture is unremarkable. So are a lot of pictures, and this one does have visual gags and extravagances of plot that keep one pleasantly engaged. But we are speaking of Truffaut, from whom more is expected. Certainly the story is no strong recommendation. An extremely square young sociologist interviews in prison a slut whose life from childhood has been punctuated by the lethal accidents that have befallen her close associates. Soon besotted by his subject's charms (which I found resistable), this pedant is able to prove that she is not responsible for the proximate death attributed to her, secures her release and thus makes possible her transformation into a music hall celebrity and finds himself imprisoned for yet another fatal mishap that occurs in her vicinity. That might be called plagiarizing the field.

But the main trouble with *Such a Gorgeous Kid* is that it offers authenticity without style. Lafont's Camille is indeed a very bawd, entirely amoral and entirely self-centered; but, unhappily, the effect of that variety of sin is boredom. Mlle. Lafont may talk up a delicious storm for those who can stay with her, but she does not wear her vulgarity with a sufficient difference. André Dussollier, as the susceptible brain with the tape recorder, is meant to be a stick and succeeds to a fault. Others in the proceedings are appropriately and unremarkably stupid, venal, grasping or violent. In short, the ambience is unpromising, and if it is to spin someone must give it a whirl.

Only in the case of Arthur, the amorous and religiously intoxicated rat exterminator (Charles Denner), does Truffaut apply any real momentum, and there he seems to apply too much. It is hard to revel in Arthur's grotesqueries because Denner works so hard at the buffoonery. The clown's weapon is a bladder, not a sandbag.

When after the performance I expressed disappointment, my companion accused me of having laughed more than a little. It's true, I did. There are some funny moments, particularly the recurring juxtaposition of love-making with a recording of the sounds of the Indianapolis 500, which is gratifyingly outrageous. Beyond that, I laugh in the theatre, as I believe many people do, when I apprehend that humor is intended (and if the intention is not insulting). But one may laugh now and be disappointed later. Comedy should not let your laughter down. □

THEATRE / Harold Clurman

Before discussing *Bunraku*, the National Puppet Theatre of Japan (in New York at the City Center through April 15 and on tour in other cities thereafter), I shall digress to another matter which may not prove altogether irrelevant to the main subject. There are those who maintain that no white person can "really" understand plays of the black theatre. Quite apart from the fact that such a play as *The River Niger* (now on Broadway) has been accorded a most cordial reception among whites as well as blacks, I believe the contention to be much less than a half truth. We cannot assume that any of the arts is readily grasped by everyone within the same culture, during the same or at different periods. We do not understand Shakespeare in the same way the Elizabethans did. Specialists in Greek drama do not construe Sophocles as did the fifth century Athenians. Most foreign critics are supposed to lack a taste for Racine, just as a great part of French youth today thinks him dull. Soviet youth do not take to Chekhov as did the members of Stanislavsky's generation or, for that matter, as we are presumed to do. The French recognized Faulkner's significance before we did. The Sabras (native-born Israelis) have little appetite for most of Yiddish literature.

There are gaps of communication among different national cultures as well as among people of the same culture. These are due to separation in time, class and particular environments. The same is true in the nonliterary arts. French concertgoers are not as susceptible to Brahms or Tschaikovsky as are our audiences. Debussy is caviar to Germans. The masters of Italian Renaissance painting were, for the most part, impervious to the beauty of medieval painting of their own land. One cannot enter the spirit of Byzantine art if he is exclusively wedded to the optics of 19th-century impressionism. Art is not as "universal" as is commonly supposed. Still, a work of art so narrow in its appeal that no one outside the circle or milieu of its origin can be touched by it is probably of a rather poor sort to begin with.

These considerations are especially applicable to the theatre. When Max Beerbohm asserted that Duse's acting meant nothing to him because he was ignorant of Italian, he defined his own limitation as a theatre critic. Shaw, no more conversant with that language than Beerbohm, wrote one of the finest appreciations of the Italian actress ever penned. Ignorance of a language in which a play is written or spoken will certainly lessen comprehension of it, but when truly acted it may still be viewed with pleasure and judged with some validity. The theatre is primarily a place for *seeing*.

To dismiss an Oriental performance as of no possible interest to us because it bears little resemblance to our theatre tradition is to evince cultural provincialism. A little patience, a bit of information and close scrutiny may make the Oriental theatre not only intelligible but thoroughly gratifying to most people of normal sensibility.

I not only "liked" the *Bunraku* puppets but was moved by them. They perform the plays of Chikamatsu (1653-1725), sometimes referred to as Japan's Shakespeare. Through earphones available to the audience, Faubion Bowers supplies the explanation and "translation" of the texts at the City Center. He also tells us that neither can convey an adequate sense of Chikamatsu's literary quality, but the plots of his plays are easy to follow and the presentations give us the rest.

In *Bunraku* puppeteering, men sheathed in black from head to foot handle the figures. We soon forget their presence and the technique of their manipulation. Or when one does momentarily become aware of the puppeteers' presence, they take on the aspect of fates.

The drama is chiefly visual and musical. Various narrators speak—chant the story and its dialogue. Feminine personages and the characteristic traits of the others are vocally suggested. The quality of the narrator's speech is at once ritualistic and piercingly dramatic.

REPRINTS are available of the article which appeared in our January 22, 1973 issue:

THE HUBRIS OF A PRESIDENT
by William L. Shirer

Reflections on the devastation of Hanoi, by the journalist who broadcast Hitler's barbarism to a horrified world.

Single copies	**25¢ each**
10 or more	**20¢ each**
50 or more	**15¢ each**
100 or more	**10¢ each**

Please enclose payment with your order

THE NATION
333 Sixth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10014

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LITERARY SERVICES

WRITERS: "UNSALEABLE" MANUSCRIPT? Try **AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, Dept. N, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.**

MUSIC

FREE 162-PAGE CATALOG offers over 1,000 fine recordings of **Renaissance, Baroque, Classical, Romantic and Modern music.** All late stereo recordings. Highest quality at budget label prices. Available only by mail from **MUSICAL HERITAGE SOCIETY, Box 932 NA, New York, N.Y. 10023.**

REAL ESTATE

PLAN your vacations, retirement in our developing liberal cooperative community in North-Central Arkansas. Beautiful lots, large lake nearby. **Tumbling Shoals Estates, P. O. Drawer 268, Naperville, Illinois 60540.**

SUMMER RENTAL

WATER MILL, LONG ISLAND. Modern 2-bedroom house. Furnished. Fully equipped kitchen. Wooded acre, vegetable garden. Couple or small family. $3,000. season. **Weekdays: (212) 989-8415 (5:30-7:30 P.M.); weekends: (516) 283-5324, or Box 682, c/o The Nation.**

SERVICES

MOVING? Professional moving at competitive rates. Anytime, anywhere. Licensed, insured, experienced. **THE COVERED WAGON, ALgonquin 5-1788 (N.Y.C.)**

QUICK (BUT CAREFUL) MOVERS. Household or commercial. Realistic estimates. Reasonable rates. Insured. No job too small. **(212) 673-5341.**

PERSONALS

CONFIDENTIALLY YOURS. Looking for someone to confide in? Let me be your private correspondent. Professional. Reliable. Send $1.00 for details. **Confidential Consultant, NAT, Box 670, Defiance, Ohio 43512.**

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS without exception. The right of each ratiocinating individual to own his or her own body is the paramount moral law, WITHOUT EXCEPTION.—**AAAL, P.O.B. 36122, Los Angeles 90036.**

PATCHES & APPLIQUE (over 200), **POSTERS** (over 275, many anti-war) **BUTTONS** (135), **BUMPER-STICKERS** (50) and other peace items. Wholesale and retail. Catalogue with pictures 25¢ (refund 1st order). **BIG-LITTLE STORE, 1077 Mission, San Francisco, Ca. 94103.**

NOW MORE THAN EVER all America needs **THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE.** Membership unrestricted. For information write: **NAACP, SOCIAL SERVICE BRANCH, 305 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10007.**

PERSONAL HOROSCOPE: 10-Page Report. Send full birth information, $10. **Michael Wood, 43 Joy Street, Boston, Mass. 02114.**

LOUISE BROOKS, VALENTINO, JOHN BARRYMORE, SWANSON, LENI RIEFENSTAHL; fine 8mm prints of silent film classics. Write for free catalog: **Milestone Movies Corporation, 212 Shelton Road, Monroe, Conn. 06468.**

ADVERTISING RATES
Classified: 74c a line (6 words) 3 line min.
Classified Display: $7.42 per inch (min.)
THE NATION, 333 Sixth Ave., N. Y. 10014
242-8400

The sound of the samisens accompanying the action marks its gradual rise to the climaxes, but the instruments are used above all to lend a mystic *distance* to the play's events.

The puppets, about two-thirds life size, are marvelous actors! As always in classic Japanese theatre, gesture is spare and eloquent; visages are expressive yet preserve a masklike immobility. This may seem a surprising thing to say, since in *Bunraku* we are confronted by "dolls," but because the puppets' eyes are made to move they are a little closer to "realism" than are the performers of a Noh play, in which the leading actors wear masks and cannot vary their expressions at all, except as the light catches them.

The classic Japanese theatre, of which *Bunraku* is one phase, never aims at "realism," that is, at an exact imitation of people's ordinary behavior. That is how it differs from the Western puppet theatre tradition, in which amusement—rarely more—is provided by the puppets' gift for mimickry. *Bunraku*'s figures offer us the *idea* of the represented person rather than specific human beings, even when the characters involved, as in one of the plays, are ostensibly a commonplace soy-shop clerk and a courtesan.

The all-important movement is *very* slow. This slowness is deliberate, even necessary; it evokes the desired atmosphere of a world out of time. The personae appear to move in idealized space, a "territory" presumably natural yet more rarified than anything we have ever beheld. It is by this very strangeness or abstraction that the Japanese stress the essence of a situation to make it more essentially meaningful. As a result, certain effects, such as the arrival or departure of a boat, take on an air of wonder, like something envisioned in a lucid dream. The escape from the mundane makes what we see the more *real.*

A man and a woman walk into the woods, where, because their hope of marriage has been frustrated, they plan to die together. Their walk, solemn and sad, is in itself a most affecting moment. It conveys an intimacy of being, permeated by a sentiment for which the common word "love" seems almost crude. I have never before seen the concept of "two souls as one" so consummately created on the stage. It is followed by another "moment" in which the unhappy couple tie themselves to each other by the sash the woman has worn, so that they may be physically close even in death. The whole episode is heart-liftingly beautiful.

Just because the actors are "mere" puppets, some of the things they do are more believable—that is to say, stir our imaginations more directly—than if they were performed by live actors. For example, an outraged conspirator condemned to exile severs the head of his persecutor and tosses it into the sea. Child's play? Not at all: many in the audience gasp, not simply at the denoted savagery of the act but at the rage which inspires it. Such scenes on film or stage are usually either ludicrous or disgusting.

The peculiar pace needed to evoke the timelessness of the *Bunraku* world may occasionally prove "boring." But it repays the viewer by effecting his removal to a magic sphere where he may acquire a calm realization of sentiments both loftily impersonal and profoundly human, a state of being all too infrequently arrived at in this hurried and harried society.

One probably unavoidable impediment to a full satisfaction in these plays is the largeness of the theatres in which they are presented here. They should be housed, as in Japan, in an auditorium seating no more than 700. My first acquaintance with *Bunraku* took place in a Tokyo chamber theatre (*with no balcony*) which had room for only 300 spectators. One cannot entirely appreciate *Bunraku* when one is placed too far from or high above the stage. □

TWIN

Here you allow no easter in the blood.
Skeletons breed skeletons.
The grave robs the thief.

I live like a mad relative
In a tomb of your mind
Where you rarely visit.

Your red nails rest in their new moons
Like claws still bloody
From tearing an antelope apart.

A trembling darkness snuffs the light,
And I imagine beeves strung up
Like hanged men bleeding in sawdust.

Who mirrors whom?
Does the lake mirror you
Or do you mirror the lake?

You drop through your image
Into a blackness that can only drown.
You disintegrate into atoms

As I wait for disaster, knowing
I do not wish to move.
You are my medium and end.

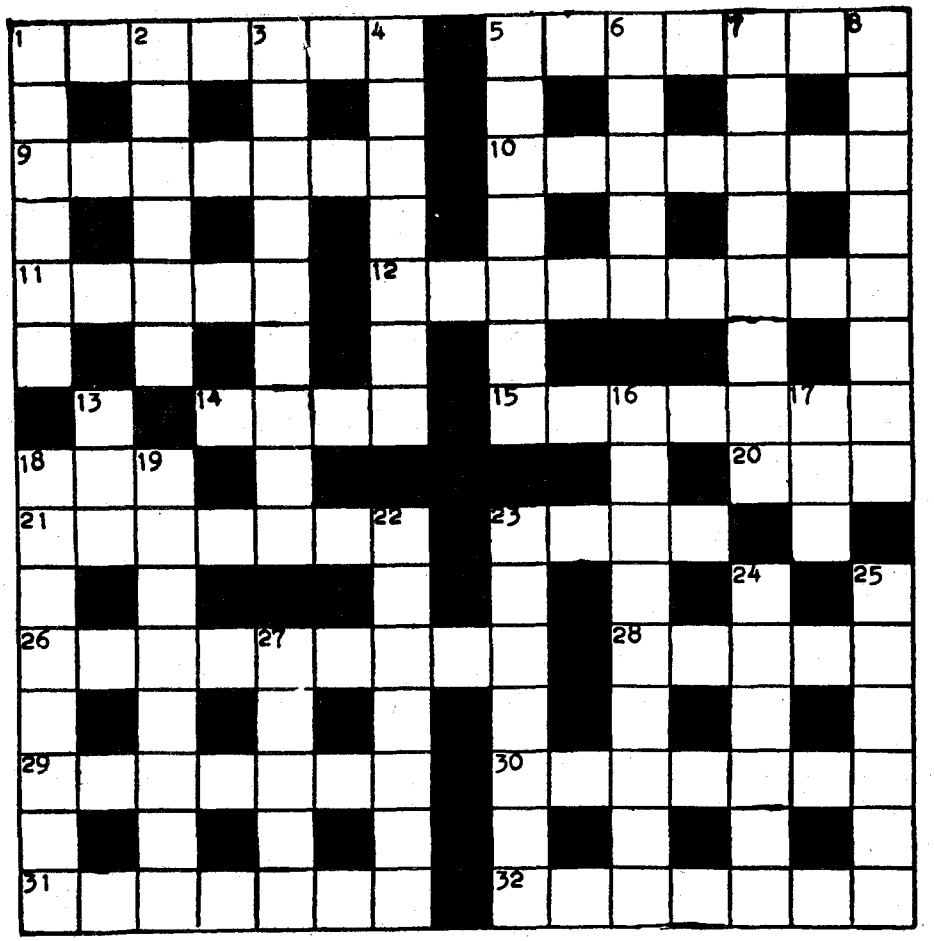
Why should I travel?
I'm already here.

Stephen Stepanchev

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 1486

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Quiet stroll, but not at a steady pace.
5 Placed casually around the front porch, and thereby gave sound evidence of appreciation. (7)
9 A good old scout who evidently put something across. (7)
10 Prepared to pass on a way to get written information about it. (7)
11 Makes the French liable to get passed over abruptly. (5)
12 In a manner of speaking, mother's environment doesn't make sense. (9)
14 and 23 across Notorious example of jingoistic speech? (8)
15 Fold at the nape of the neck. (7)
18 The knack of 7, perhaps. (3)
20 It might hamper the inspiration to produce a joke. (3)
21 With the frenzy of an old warrior? (7)
23 See 14 across
26 Publicans never star in such a production. (9)
28 One of at least five the English have to promise the Spanish. (5)
29 Set operated in the wrong gear? 7)
30 and 13 down Fought to take the gold, perhaps, the old bat! (10)
31 Makes three times as much as singers, possibly. (7)
32 Such things might be expected to go on. (7)

DOWN

1 Not very transparent, if it isn't in the subtitle. (6)
2 Not a single one embarked, as they said in the old song. (6)
3 A trifling game, but there's something pretty French about a gangster's weapon.
4 A symptom of vertigo? It depends on the listener! (7)
5 Not exactly hearty, though the CIA is wrong in following one of the pack. (7)
6 Set on retirement, perhaps. (5)
8 Was one act of the Italian partisans that of making inference? (8)
13 See 30 across
16 Possibly being naive, don't get introduced for the first time. (9)
17 The sound of 13 might be responsible for a row. (3)
18 and 7 down There seems to be a wave of museum visitors who try to, but it may not have meaning for everyone! (8,8)
19 This way one might come across a rising form of 7 and poetry. (8)
22 They hold on to jobs in the zoo, perhaps. (7)
23 One might consider the answer ludicrous. (7)
24 Putting one and two together might make this. (6)
25 Flies, having lost power, or perhaps having never acquired it. (6)
27 Children always get it about the kidneys. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1485

ACROSS: 1 and 4 Put in a good word; 10 Numbers; 11 Setters; 12 Atone; 15 and 27 down Out on a limb; 17 Accuracy; 21 Mastodon; 23 Train; 26 and 13 across Alphabet; 28 Bar; 29 Sisal; 30 Emotion; 31 Twinges; 32 Scabbard. DOWN: 1 and 25 Pentagon Papers; 2 and 33 Time out of mind; 3 Niece; 5 Onset; 6 Dutch; 7 Oceanic; 8 Desist; 16 and 14 No thanks; 18 Contrite; 19 Rot; 20 Unclosed; 22 Amphora; 24 Assagai; 28 Boner; 29 and 9 Stiff as a board.

PUBLICATIONS

"THE MILITARY AND THE SOUTH,"—articles by Robert Sherrill, Julian Bond, and Walter Collins lead off the first issue of **SOUTHERN EXPOSURE**, a new quarterly that probes beyond the myth to the reality of southern people and southern power. Analytical essays, reviews, interviews, and data on the region's culture and political economy. Subscriptions $8 per year, $2 per issue. **Institute for Southern Studies, 88 Walton Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.**

NO PEACE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. For current news about liberation struggle, U.S. investment, political and economic events, read **SOUTHERN AFRICA** (244 West 27 St., Dept. B, New York 10001.) Monthly. **$5.00 per/year. Write for sample copy.**

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS MONTHLY LETTER helps cultured, marriage-oriented, single, widowed, or divorced men and women get acquainted. **Box AE, Swarthmore, Pa. 19081.**

MILITARY and WAR-RELATED Funds are over 55% of Congressional Appropriations

Write for analysis and "pie" chart (60¢). Send $5 for Newsletter subscription.

Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 2nd St. N.E., Wash. D.C., 20002.

EDUCATIONAL & CAMPS

EXTERNAL DEGREE PROGRAM for well informed, highly motivated adults wishing to complete undergraduate education. Two-week resident periods on Goddard campus alternate with six-month independent study projects carried on at home under faculty supervision. Program leads to Goddard Bachelor of Arts degree. **Write Box E, Adult Degree Program, Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont 05667.**

OPEN COMMUNITY SUMMER CAMP AND BOARDING SCHOOL. A camp where freedom is encouraged in an atmosphere of adult responsibility and concern. Children learn to trust, love and respect both themselves and others through learning and playing together and in sharing the responsibility of freedom with adults. The children choose from a rich program of academic as well as crafts, music, organic gardening, animals, drama, pottery, riding, swimming, camping, sports, art and photography. Accepting ages 6-17. For brochure: **Open Community Camp, Box 305 N, Claverack, N.Y. 12513. (518) 851-3311.**

ADVERTISE YOUR NEEDS IN THE NATION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOW is the time to

subscribe to THE NATION at these money-saving rates.

6 months (24 issues)	1 year (48 issues)
$9.00	$15.00

Enter your subscription to THE NATION right now . . . and *enjoy two specific benefits:*

1. SAVE MONEY. Regular single-copy price of THE NATION *is 50¢* per copy. So you *save $9.00* (almost 40%) on a 1-year subscription which costs only $15.00 . . . or you *save $3.00* on a 6-month subscription at only $9.00.
2. FREE BOOK. Described at right is the book you will receive absolutely free, as a Bonus. Only a limited number of copies available, so act today to avoid disappointment.

Provocative and venturesome . . . THE NATION has been traveling the route of independent expression and dissent for more than 107 tumultuous years. Here is *the* forum for all free-thinkers who are not afraid to challenge the age-old illnesses that still confront America today: anti-intellectualism, intolerance, injustice, imperialism, inertia. And here, week after week after week, is the forthright comment by those who seek to examine and re-examine, expose and oppose, question and criticize the causes of our day.

Whether you're a liberal or a conservative, radical or revolutionary, let THE NATION help keep you up-to-date on the most absorbing political and social issues of our time. Enclose remittance now and you will receive your Bonus book at once. But please don't delay. Get your subscription into the mail today.

THE NATION *333 Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10014*

Please ☐ enter ☐ extend my subscription to THE NATION for the term checked below. I am paying for my subscription now, so send my Bonus book at once.

☐ *1 year (48 issues) $15.00* ☐ *6 mos (24 issues) $9.00*

(Add $1 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $2 other foreign.)

PRINT
Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ *Bill me with the understanding that the free book will be sent after my subscription invoice has been paid.*

4-23-73

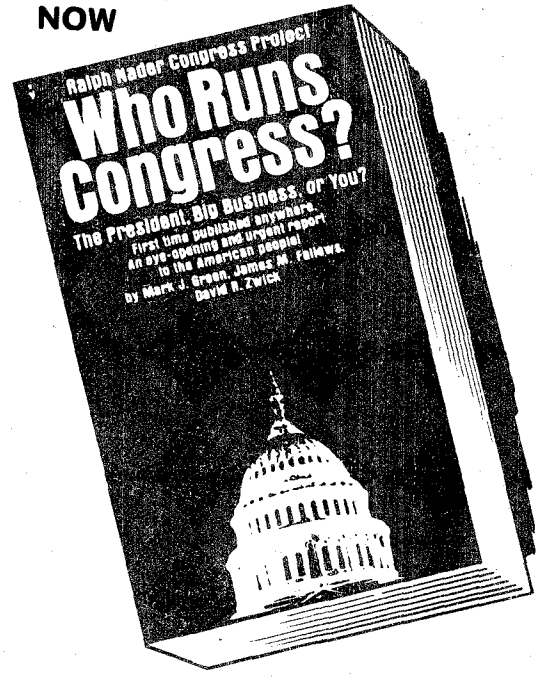
GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS

Timely and appropriate *for any friend or relative you specially want to please. Attach separate sheet with names and addresses; we'll send gift cards in your name. Send $15.00 for each 1-year gift, including the FREE Bonus Book for you.*

THE NATION
333 Sixth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10014

Yours ABSOLUTELY FREE!

if you enter your subscription NOW


Ralph Nader Congress Project
Who Runs Congress?
The President, Big Business . . . or You?
First time published anywhere.
An eye-opening and urgent report to the American people!
by Mark J. Green, James M. Fallows, David R. Zwicker

WHO RUNS CONGRESS?

First of the "Nader's Raiders" Congress Reports

Accept this revealing and informative new book at *no* extra cost with your 6-month or 1-year paid subscription to THE NATION.

- How lawmakers become lawbreakers . . . or why Russell Long told Tom Dodd, "I'll support you all the way on this, Tom, even if you're guilty."
- What the "Games Congressmen Play" are—from the "politics of deference" to congressional love and marriage to the secret hideaway offices of the Capitol rulers . . .
- How billions of dollars appropriated by Congress to solve the nation's social problems are never spent because of presidential politics . . .
- Why the United States is bound by 4,000 "treaties" which Congress never approved . . .
- How the Nixon administration collaborates with Big Business to oppose strong antipollution legislation in Congress . . .

Don't miss this timely opportunity to find out "Who Runs Congress" — an eye-opening and urgent report to the American people! Your copy is FREE with a 6-month or 1-year paid subscription to THE NATION. Use coupon at left.

LSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED